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Gerasimov Lauds INF Treaty, 'Legacy of 1987'

PM041355 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 29 Dec 87 p 7

[Observer Gennadiy Gerasimov's "World on Tuesday" column: "To Develop the Legacy of 1987"]

[Text] Quite a few old ideas were refuted by 1987.

It refuted the idea of an imminent Soviet-U.S. incompatibility. The Soviet Union and the United States reached an accord to begin nuclear disarmament. And to continue it in 1988. The USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of their Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles ought to be followed by a treaty on reducing strategic offensive arms by one-half. The sides agree not only that this is difficult but also that it is possible and desirable. The sides have expressed their political will. Now it is up to diplomacy and military experts.

The year 1987 refuted the idea of the impossibility of disarmament. It put to shame the arguments by cynics, holding themselves up as experts, that reverse movement in military equipment is yet to be invented. The parties signed a protocol on Procedures Governing the Elimination of the Missile Systems Subject to the Treaty Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the Elimination of Their Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. It says the following about the sadly notorious Pershing-1A missile: Missile stages shall be eliminated by explosive demoiition or burning.... Front section, minus nuclear warhead device and guidance elements, shall be crushed or flattened.... Launcher chassis shall be cut at a location that is not an assembly joint into two pieces of approximately equal size."

For some people these may be technical detail, but for me they are almost an "Ode to Joy." Because these are not instructions how to handle weapons but instructions how to get rid of them.

The year 1987 refuted old ideas about secrecy. The parties signed a Memorandum of Understanding on the Establishment of Initial Data in Connection with the Treaty Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the Elimination of Their Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. It is curious that, at a joint briefing in Washington, White House Press Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater initially announced the U.S. side's unwillingness to publish this document, referring to danger from terrorists. It was claimed that, having learned the precise addresses, they would.... But U.S. journalists ridiculed this argument: A day later the U.S. stance was changed. Ours, on the other hand, was in the spirit of glasnost from the very beginning.

All the documents from the Washington summit meeting have now been published in VESTNIK MINISTERSTVAINOSTRANNYKH DEL SSSR. I personally found it interesting to learn that 37 "OTR-22" missiles and 14 launchers for them, not to mention 17 training missiles and 5 transporters for them, are stationed in the distant Far East village of Novosysoyevka where I spent several years in my teens. As a matter of fact, Novosysoyevka is not to be found on the Maritime Kray map contained in the latest issue of the Officer's Atlas [Atlas Ofitsera] published by the Military-Topographical Directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff....

A year ago in Boston, my old acquaintance Randall Forsberg, leader of the "Nuclear Freeze" movement and founder and director of the Scientific Research Institute of Military Problems and Problems of Disarmament, presented me with a hefty 700-page volume, published by her institute under the title "Soviet Missiles," which already listed everything.

It is nonetheless interesting to note that, following the exchange of initial data, it emerged that U.S. military intelligence (in contrast with the Central Intelligence Agency) had inflated sharply—by one-third—the number of Soviet missiles and combat charges. The same mistake had been made by the U.S. Department of Defense brochure "Soviet Military Power." On the other hand, data about U.S. missiles cited in the press proved to have been deflated.

This is how the "Soviet threat" was built up.

Glasnost is working in our favor.

How will 1988 deal with its inheritance? Will it augment it? Will it prove up to the responsibility which has hardly ever before been assigned to any other year?

It must be helped by all possible means.

Disarmament Also an 'Economic Imperative'

PM050921 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 88 Second Edition p 6

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences G. Tsagolov and Candidate of Economic Sciences A. Kireyev: "The Burden of Nuclear Armor. The Economic Advisability of Disarmament"]

[Text] The world sighed with relief on receiving the news of the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Now it is a matter of following up this first practical step toward a life without nuclear armor with a radical cut in strategic offensive arms in conditions of observance of the ABM Treaty.

When investigating ways of advancing toward a nuclear-free world it is important to try to answer a number of difficult questions. They include whether the capitalist economy is capable of functioning without militarism and whether it is realistic to expect the Western countries to devise programs for the conversion and transfer of the

military economy to a peaceful footing. It is particularly important to seek an answer to these questions at a time when people are making more and more vociferous attempts to demonstrate that the disarmament process is too expensive and will not result in the release of funds for development purposes but will, in fact, require extra expenditure. They try to persuade us that nuclear arms cuts are totally "inadvisable economically" since, in value terms, they make up a relatively small part of the existing arsenals and it is cheaper to produce them than to create some types of conventional weapons.

Such ideas are being propounded by the U.S. military-industrial complex, which is profoundly worried by the turn that has been taken in international affairs. THE NEW YORK TIMES, talking about the "military contractors" who make billions of dollars producing nuclear arms, noted: "The psychology of the market could cause a fall in the price of military companies' stock if shareholders 'disarm' their portfolios in expectation of some kind of significant agreement to control the superpowers' nuclear arsenals." The Washington research firm "Analyses Corporation" warned that a 50% cut in strategic offensive armaments could lead to a revision of defense programs by $15-20 billion.

Of course, it is naive to suppose that sweeping away the mountains of weapons that have accumulated over the decades will make it possible to avoid all material expenditure. But this outlay is nothing compared with the cost to mankind of competition in the military technology sphere. Worldwide expenditure on weapons and on other military purposes is nearly $1 trillion per year and is comparable to the material damage caused by the last two world wars. More than 50 million people are employed in the military sphere in peacetime. Around one-fourth of expenditure on science goes on the development of systems for destruction, and one in five scientists is working in that area.

In the disarmament process the saving depends on the depth and scale of the measures that are implemented. Take the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Although these missiles are a small part of the Soviet and U.S. arsenals their elimination would have economic as well as military and political significance. Despite the fact money has already been spent on the production of these weapons, their elimination would save the money that would otherwise have to be spent on material and technical servicing and, in the case of the United States, also on upgrading the weapons in the West European countries. Moreover, in accordance with the protocol on the procedures regulating the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, some parts of these missiles can be used for civilian needs.

According to UN experts' data, nuclear arms account for approximately one-fifth of the military expenditure of the powers possessing them. Let us assume that the halving of nuclear arsenals will cost as much as would be spent on material and technical servicing. At first glance it may appear that there has been no saving. But that is not so. In this case part of the budget would be spent on converting military technology into civilian technology which could then be used to tackle civilian tasks.

Let us assume that the money made available as a result of the halving of nuclear arms was insufficient for the elimination or conversion of nuclear weapons and that additional expenditure had to be resorted to. In this case too such measures are beneficial economically: The destruction of weapons, as a rule, costs less than their operation.

As for the conversion of military technology, it is difficult to imagine the cost of converting, say, a military missile carrier into a civilian vehicle being greater than the cost of actually creating such a missile carrier. It makes no odds as far as organizations engaged in operating space technology are concerned whether they receive a converted military rocket launcher or a newly built civilian one. It only has to meet the operating requirements.

Thus, investments in the implementation of conversion in excess of the funds made available as a result of disarmament measures are not lost to society. They are used to make essential civilian products. Moreover, in the case of production from scratch, what you start with is raw materials and other primary supplies, while in the other case you have an article that has already been made and you are only altering its consumer properties.

Nuclear arsenals, like other types of instruments of war, have also to be considered in the context of the damage they can cause if used. Despite the fact that in value terms nuclear weapons production plays a relatively minor part in military budgets, in terms of their use they are considered the most effective: A warhead costing $1 million is capable of destroying $1 billion worth of production forces.

But the solution of the question of reducing or destroying particular types of weapons cannot be based on financial calculations. When the USSR brings up the problem of radically reducing nuclear weapons it is also acting on the basis of the need to reduce the risk of having production forces (not to mention people) destroyed if even part of the remaining arsenal is used accidentally. This must also be taken into account when talking about the economic advisability of nuclear disarmament measures.

One could name certain steps on the path to a nuclear-free world which would cost practically nothing and would make a positive economic impact. An example is the halting of nuclear tests. According to U.S. data, each nuclear test explosion costs the U.S. taxpayer between 10 and 40 million dollars, depending on the yield and the

technical complexity. Experts believe that if the United States had joined the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests $329 million would have been saved in 1986 and around $400 million in 1987.

The cessation of experimental launches of missiles intended to deliver nuclear weapons—and the reduction of the number and scale of exercises to rehearse the use of nuclear munitions—could provide a considerable saving. Practically no extra expenditure will be needed to switch scientific studies from military to civilian purposes, especially those which are at the stage of basic theoretical research.

Finally, the abandonment of planned military programs could provide a massive saving of material resources. This applies above all to SDI. The billions of dollars that have already been spent on it cannot be retrieved, of course. But it is trillions next, not billions.

The USSR's asymmetrical response to SDI will be much cheaper. But it will still cost money. The cheapest way to achieve security is not to hang nuclear swords up above people in space, but to disarm.

The arms race has reached the stage where it is jeopardizing mankind's socioeconomic progress. As was stated at the international conference in New York in the fall, disarmament and development are mankind's immediate tasks. According to UN data, in the developing countries nearly 1.3 billion people are living in poverty, around 800 million do not have enough to eat, 850 million are illiterate, 1.5 billion have no access to medical services, and 1 billion people do not have roofs over their heads or proper housing.

The world can either continue the arms race, thus paving the way for its own destruction, or disarm and follow the path of progressive development. It will require a tough struggle to establish this truth in international relations. The Soviet-U.S. summit marked the start of the movement away from the era of the nuclear arms race toward a nuclear-free world. Confidence in its attainability strengthens the growing potential of the forces urging governments to quickly snap out of the destructive hypnosis of "security through armament" and realize that nuclear disarmament is an economic as well as military-political imperative of our times.

Petrovskiy Interviewed on 1987 Achievements
LD311744 Moscow TASS in English 1635 GMT 31 Dec 87

["1987—A Year of Renovation of International Life"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 31 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

"Today, on the last day of 1987, it can be said that many people the world over have realised that security for all is at the same time security for everybody", Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, pointed out in his New Year interview.

"The main outcome of the outgoing year is the emergence on our planet of the contours of a new continent without nuclear or other weapons, where people will be guided solely by common sense and common laws. Even a short time ago such a continent seemed to be a utopia. It is apt to recall January 15, 1986 when Mikhail Gorbachev advanced the programme of a nuclear free world. Then it seemed to many people a utopia of a Kremlin dreamer. Today, Vladimir Petrovskiy stressed, we can speak in all certainty that specific steps on the way to that beautiful continent have been made". In that connection the Soviet diplomat spoke highly of the Soviet-American treaty signed in Washington.

Yet, he continued, "it would be a mistake to overestimate the successes in the way of building the contours of the new continent," Vladimir Petrovskiy went on to say. "Unfortunately, in reality we still run against the impediment mechanism. Hardly had, for example, the Soviet-American summit meeting closed and a prospect opened for ridding humanity of the nuclear weapons, as talk started about a compensation. It is alleged that it is necessary to replace the nuclear missiles to be scrapped with conventional weapons, create binary munitions. Calls can be heard from certain circles on a so-called nuclear pause. According to them there has been enough talk on disarmament. It is time to stop..."

"Yes, the forces which do not wish and cannot put up with the process of renovation in the world are at work. Yet the year of 1987 is also remarkable due to the fact that it has specifically demonstrated that the mechanisms of impediment can be overcome, if one acts from the positions of reckoning with the common interests in international affairs," Vladimir Petrovskiy said.

"The contours of the new continent cannot turn into reality if the use of force in some or another form is not banned the world over," the Soviet deputy foreign minister said. It may sound a utopia. Yet I am an optimist. Here is a specific case for optimism: This year after 12 years of difficult discussions the U.N. adopted a declaration on non-use of force, and not simply adopted but did it unanimously. I believe that the process of renovation of international life will be further developed."

Bogachev Assesses Results of Arms Talks
LD311747 Moscow TASS in English 1653 GMT 31 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 31 TASS—Follows commentary by Vladimir Bogachev, TASS military news analyst:

The outgoing year of 1987 will undoubtedly go down into history as a milestone signalling the completion of one stage in the development of international relations, as a hopeful prologue for another.

The Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington, which was climaxed by the signing of the treaty eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, has clearly demonstrated that political decisions are the sole effective method of ensuring security for the peoples, for the whole humanity.

Apart from the zealous opponents of disarmament from among the cohorts of the military-industrial complex, there have always been many skeptics in the world who claimed that in the conditions of the current military confrontation, suspicion and distrust, real disarmament is impossible. Now the INF Treaty has seriously shattered their positions.

It is too early yet to speak about a turning point in relations between the USSR and the USA. Both countries will have yet to overcome the accumulations of the decades of cold war, give up the old stereotypes in appraising the other side's intentions. Yet already now, as Mikhail Gorbachev told the U.S. President, the Soviet leadership is prepared to transfer our relations into the channel of mutual understanding, into the channel of constructive cooperation in the interests of our countries and the whole world.

It is important to stress that the Soviet-American INF Treaty signed in 1987 will be the first important step on the way of implementing the program for ridding humanity of the nuclear weapons already in the current century. This agreement creates not only a precedent of real disarmament, but also shows specific ways for its implementation in the future. Thus, for example, many types of verification of implementation of the commitments under the treaty and the methods of carrying them out can be successfully applied in other arms control agreements. A wealth of experience has been accumulated in the course of the talks on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles on getting agreement on the priorities in the scrapping of weapons, determining the order of eliminating the possible mutual grudges on separate issues, resolution of the problems in connection with the jurisdiction of third countries, in whose territory the weapons to be scrapped are deployed now, etc. The main thing is that after the implementation of the provisions of the Soviet-American agreement of 1987 our planet will become a truly safer place for the life of people. Humanity has seen that nuclear disarmament is possible and the world without the atomic bomb is attainable.

TIME Article on U.S. CW Production Noted

LD040934 Moscow TASS in English 0728 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] New York January 4 TASS—The U.S. TIME magazine has published in its January 11 issue an article containing the details of the production of binary munitions started in the U.S. on December 16. According to the magazine, workers at the army's Pine Bluff, Arkansas, arsenal resumed nerve-gas production by filling, sealing and storing artillery-shell components with the main ingredients. The second ingredient, simple rubbing alcohol, will be loaded into artillery shells at Shreveport, Louisiana. The combination of two relatively harmless components at the moment when the shells are fired produces a lethal nerve gas. The army is setting up training programs using live nerve agents at its chemical-warfare school in Fort McClellan, Alabama, the magazine reported.

The Pentagon makes no secret of the fact that it is planning to use the most barbaric mass destruction weapon in West European countries. In this connection some NATO officials acknowledge that proposals to deploy new chemical weapons in Europe would provoke strong reactions among the public, TIME pointed out.

In the United States opponents of the chemical weapon buildup believe that the starting of the production of binary munitions can trigger off "a particularly odious and dangerous kind of arms race". "The U.S. alone, according to the American Chemical Association, already posses more than 5,000 times enough nerve gas to kill everyone on earth", TIME wrote.

USSR To Participate in Seoul Olympics

LD041730 Hamburg DPA in German 1707 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Excerpt] Frankfurt, (DPA)—The Soviet Union will take part in this year's Olympic Games in Seoul. This statement was made by Marat Gramov, chairman of the USSR National Olympic Committee, on Monday at a news conference in Frankfurt. In answer to a question about participation in the Olympic Summer Games, the Soviet Union's highest sports functionary, who also heads the State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport, said: "We do not intend to boycott the Seoul Olympic Games."

According to Gramov, the Soviet National Olympic Committee will formally decide in favor of participation in the Olympic Games in the capital of South Korea at its session on 11 or 12 January in Moscow. [passage omitted]

PRAVDA Cites Head of New Olympic Academy

PM311251 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Dec 87 Second Edition p 6

[V. Sudakov report: "Olympic Academy"]

[Text] The first session of the Soviet Olympic Academy (SOA) has been held in Moscow. Professor V. Igumenov, its president and rector of the State Central Institute of Physical Culture, describes the tasks and prospects of the new voluntary social organization:

The establishment of the academy under the auspices of the USSR National Olympic Committee reflects the growing support by our country for the Olympic idea and the international Olympic movement as one of the active forces in strengthening friendship and mutual understanding between peoples. The Olympic family comprises 167 national Olympic committees and more than 30 national Olympic academies. They are operating in difficult times marked by an exacerbation of a number of problems, including attempts at the political manipulation of sport and a massive commercialization assault on the amateur bases of the Olympic movement...

In contrast to these negative phenomena the prestige of the national Olympic committees, and the USSR National Olympic Committee in particular, is growing. Thanks to their efforts the choice of the Olympic Games capitals is becoming more objective, world Olympic congresses are being revived, and the program of assistance to sportsmen in developing countries is being improved. The Olympic movement is becoming more democratic and humane.

The statutes of the Soviet Olympic Academy state that it supports the world's progressive forces in their struggle for the purity and unity of the Olympic movement and the prevention of political, racial, or other discrimination in sport.

Gerasimov Says Gardeyz-Khowst Road 'Calm'

LD041344 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 4 Jan [TASS]—"Reports by Western information agencies that fighting is continuing in the area of the Afghan town of Khowst do not correspond to reality," Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing here today.

In fact, he commented, citing data from the Soviet military command in Afghanistan, "no military actions are being conducted in the area of the Gardeyz-Khowst road at present, and the situation there is calm. Only occasionally are blows struck, on the distant approaches to this region, against armed groupings penetrating from Pakistan."

The road was opened on 30 December, and every day a convoy of 200 trucks delivers various cargoes, primarily food for the hungry population from Gardeyz to Khowst. "In the past few days over 4,500 tonnes of freight has been transported. Delivery of goods by private entrepreneurs is also being organized," the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman noted.

Joint U.S.-USSR Statement Circulated at UN

LD311922 Moscow TASS in English 1733 GMT 31 Dec 87

[Text] New York December 31 TASS—The text of a joint Soviet-U.S. statement at summit level about the December 7-10, 1987 meeting in Washington between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan was distributed at the organisation of United Nations as an official document of the UN General Assembly.

A letter with a request to distribute the text of the statement was sent jointly by Aleksandr Belonogov, permanent representative of the USSR at the UN, and his American counterpart Vernon Walters.

UN Official Protests Israeli 'Inhuman Policy'

LD041427 Moscow TASS in English 1335 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Geneva January 4 TASS—Soviet people are indignant over gross and massive violation of the human rights of Arabs in the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza sector. The shooting and arrests of peaceful civilians, cruel and unjust trials, as well as massive forced deportation of Palestinians constitute a flagrant violation of the international law and U.N. international human rights pacts, a challenge to civilized laws and ways of the world community. This is stated in a letter of Vladimir Lomeyko, a Soviet representative in the U.N. Human Rights Commission, that was handed over here today to Jan Martenson, director general of the U.N. office in Geneva.

The letter emphasized that Soviet people voiced a resolute protest against the inhuman policy and practices of the Israeli authorities grossly violating the rights of Palestinian people. They urge to demonstrate international solidarity with the courageous Palestinian people.

United States & Canada

Reagan Returns From Vacation, Agenda Viewed

LD040706 Moscow TASS in English 0659 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 4 TASS—President Reagan ended his Christmas vacations and returned to Washington on Sunday.

In the next few days the President will study the details of the budget of the federal agencies for the next fiscal year, a White House spokesman said. Ratification of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of the Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles is one of the most important questions on the President's order of the day.

Reagan To Make New Request for Contra Arms

LD031218 Moscow TASS in English 1201 GMT 3 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 3 TASS—In the coming weeks the Reagan administration intends to ask the Congress to allow the supply of a batch of arms to the Nicaraguan contras. The CBS TV network reported that the cost of the batch of arms would be possibly 100 million dollars.

According to the compromise worked out between the Congress and the White House at the end of December, the President is to make a request for a new portion of military aid to the contras on January 25-27. The U.S. House of Representatives is to vote on the issue on February 3 and the Senate will vote on it on February 4.

The CBS reportage pointed out that the vote on the request for another batch of arms to the Nicaraguan contras would become a new important test of strength in the clash between the Administration and the U.S. Congress.

U.S. 'Will Continue' To Supply Afghan Rebels

LD031610 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT 3 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 3 TASS—President Reagan has sent a message to the leaders of the counter-revolutionary gangs in Afghanistan, the newspaper WASHINGTON POST said today. It quotes anonymous administration sources as assuring the counter-revolutionaries that "the United States will continue and even strengthen its extensive military and political support" for the Afghan counter-revolutionaries.

According to WASHINGTON POST, U.S. military aid to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries was reported to be about 600 million dollars in fiscal year 1987. The figure appropriated this year, the newspaper says, "is well short of that", but the newspaper quotes an informed source as saying that "the funds could be augmented later".

Reports appeared in the U.S. press earlier that Washington was planning to set aside nearly one billion dollars for kindling the war in Afghanistan through various channels in the fiscal year 1988. "There is no shortage of money", THE WASHINGTON POST quotes an administration official as saying. Reagan's message is viewed here as evidence of the administration's wish to press ahead in Congress for an increase in aid to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries.

News about the message by the U.S. President was learnt here exactly at a time when Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Michael Armacost departed for Pakistan. The latter country has long been turned due to the efforts of the USA into a base of the undeclared war against Afghanistan. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, Michael Armacost, who is accompanied by Robert Oakley, Middle East, South Asia and Northern Africa director of the National Security Council staff, is to meet with the chiefs of Afghan counter-revolutionary elements in Pakistani territory.

Reagan To Send INF Treaty to Senate

LD031054 Moscow TASS in English 1020 GMT 3 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 3 TASS—President Ronald Reagan has said in his recent radio address that the Administration will forward the Soviet-American INF Treaty to the Senate of the U.S. Congress "for its advice and consent". He urged the Senate "to move forward on ratification". The President pointed out that "under this treaty, for the first time in history, an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles will be eliminated". "The verification procedures in the treaty are the most stringent in the history of arms control negotiations".

The President said that the treaty meant a good deal for the United States and its allies and a step towards a more secure peace for all the world.

Opposition to INF Ratification Assessed

LD041734 Moscow TASS in English 1644 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—TASS Military News Analyst Vladimir Bogachev writes:

An overwhelming majority of Americans approve of the treaty signed in Washington between the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

According to a public opinion poll taken by THE LOS ANGELES TIMES newspaper, 72 per cent of Americans are of the opinion that the INF Treaty should be ratified by the Senate. Only eleven percent of respondents declared against ratification.

Under the pressure of the public opinion, such principled opponents of arms control as Richard Perle and Henry Kissinger with the utmost reluctance have given up overt struggle against ratification of the treaty.

After prolonged meditation, Robert Dole, leader of the Republican minority of the U.S. Senate, declared in favour of ratification of the INF Treaty.

However, the most zealous advocates of the "touch course" do not abandon hopes to foil the INF Treaty's entering into force. Their logic is primitive—the greater the tension in international relations, the better, ostensibly, for America.

According to American laws, a signed treaty enters into force if at least 67 out of 100 members of the U.S. Senate vote for its ratification. On the other hand, 51 senators' votes are enough to adopt amendments to the treaty.

A group of conservative lawmakers—Jesse Helms, Malcolm Wallop, Larry Pressler, Steve Symms, Richard Shelby and some others have worked out a plan to fight the treaty, the plan which proceeds from the assumption that with the given composition of the Senate the rightists would not manage to collect more than 33 votes necessary for a U.S. renunciation of the INF Treaty.

Opponents of arms control expect to pilot through the Senate by a mere majority vote such amendments to the text which would substantially change its essence and would therefore require renegotiations with the Soviet Union.

By dragging out the very process of ratification, the conservatives intend to try to repeat the precedent with the SALT-2 Treaty of 1979 which was signed but was never ratified by the United States. Later on Washington declared the SALT-2 to be defunct.

Analysts' estimates indicate that most senators now favour ratification. However, it would be hardly right to underestimate the resources of the opponents of the treaty who have at their disposal a vigorous lobby in the U.S. Congress, a huge propaganda machine, and lavish financial backing on the part of the military-industrial complex.

In the final analysis, further destiny of the INF Treaty will be decided depending on intra-American and at times unpredictable factors.

A report which to a certain extent reflects the present attitude of the U.S. lawmakers to the INF Treaty has come from Washington.

The U.S. Congress decided against endorsing financial appropriations for the earlier planned deployment of new launch facilities in view of the INF Treaty which will remove the need for the facilities following its ratification.

Right-Wing Contenders Attack INF Treaty

PM041631 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Dec 87 First Edition p 5

[A. Bogomolov commentary: "Keepers of the Senseless Flame. How the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles Is 'Participating' in the U.S. Election Campaign"]

[Text] Two events will determine the nature of U.S. political life at the beginning of next year: The battle to ratify the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the start of the presidential election campaign. What is more, both these processes will develop in parallel, in close interdependence. Today the many contenders cannot ignore the fact that the treaty has powerful support from the most diverse social groups in the United States. According to a poll conducted by THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, for example, even Republican party supporters believe, in a ratio of eight to one, that in the presidential elections the voters will prefer the candidate who supports the agreement. And one-quarter of Republicans are sure that if their party's right wing blocks the ratification of the treaty the elections will be won by the Democratic candidate. So what is the situation on the Republican Olympus, how much notice are they taking of the electorate's mood and wishes?

...The most striking feature of the current election campaign in the United States is the fact that the Reverend Marion "Pat" Robertson is one of the most popular candidates, which comes as a surprise to many specialists. This extremely right-wing television preacher who is frankly proud of his anticommunism and obscurantism was, until recently, regarded as a clear outsider.

But there is not long to go now before the official nomination of candidates for the U.S. presidency from the leading political parties—Republican and Democratic. More and more frequently the name of the reverend, who bases his life's philosophy on the postulate "The main things in life are health and wealth," is mentioned in the same breath as those of really major figures such as Vice President George Bush, the leader of the Republican minority in Senate R. Dole, and other members of the Republican Party who are in the running for nomination.

"All the Republican candidates currently describe themselves as conservatives, but this word conceals a multitude of differences." These are the words with which THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE opens an article discussing the situation in the Republican Party on the eve of the campaign skirmishes. The magazine singles out two groups in the ruling party which aspire to the same goal, although employing different means—that goal being to take control of the White House again. The first group, according to the magazine, consists of moderate pragmatists and includes Bush and, at a stretch, Dole. The second group is the ideological wing or, as

THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE ironically remarks, the "keepers of the flame." This group includes Robertson, Congressman Jack Kemp, ex-governor of Delaware State Pete Dupont, and former Secretary of State Alexander Haig.

Now, after the meeting in Washington between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan and the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, Republican contenders have taken clear stances on this issue. G. Bush, as one of the leaders of the incumbent administration, actively supports the agreement. R. Dole describes it as "a step in the right direction." Last week he even said that he will be "leading the fight for ratification in the Senate," although only recently he said that detente is "a dangerous myth, a false idol." This change of attitude has possibly helped Dole to enhance his prestige in the eyes of the electorate: A recent public opinion poll showed that he is not far behind Bush, the Republican favorite.

At the same time, Robertson and his ilk are doing their utmost to attack the treaty, which they see as opening the way in Europe to "the satanic forces of communism." Congressman Kemp has termed the accord on intermediate-range missiles "a nuclear Munich." "There is absolutely no reason why the United States could not develop a superior military potential in space," he said. "The United States needs to restore its sense of divine will. If this sounds rather too chauvinist or imperial, what of it?"

"Pat" Robertson is clearly one of the favorites on the far right. His election ambitions are not built on sand: Robertson owns the television corporation "Christian Broadcasting Network," which brings in $200 million a year, and his program "700 Club" is regularly watched by 14 million people. He has already collected $11 million to maintain his election apparatus and he claims that 3.3 million people have signed petitions demanding confirmation of his candidacy.

One would like to think that the way to the voters' hearts is closed to an obscurantist like Robertson by virtue of the absolute insanity of his program. However, the results of a campaign poll conducted among Republican Party supporters in the state of Florida attest to the considerable influence enjoyed by the reverend. The favorite, as in the rest of the country, is still George Bush, who picked up 57%. But "Pat" Robertson is in second place with his 37%. These figures reveal a great deal.

The influence of the "keepers of the flame" must not be underestimated—after all, the agreement has still to be ratified in the U.S. Congress. And there are a considerable number of people in Congress who worship the senseless flame of arms and anticommunism and who, on the eve of the treaty hearing, have raised a real storm of accusations around it, demanding "compensation for damages." Acting as their mouthpiece, Richard Haas, former assistant to the U.S. secretary of state, wrote recently in THE NEW YORK TIMES: "The administration must accelerate the growth of defense expenditure to reassure the Armed Forces, Congress, and the public that this agreement will not make the government give in to an illusory sense of complacency."

The uncompromising stance taken by the far right and its considerable potential are fraught with yet another threat. This is what THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE has to say on the subject: "In view of Robertson's finances, organization, and political base, other Republican contenders assume that he will win 20% or more of the vote of delegates at the Republican convention. This will give him the opportunity to shift the party candidate and his program to the right." To misquote a well-known saying: Like man, like master. The candidate must consider the mood of his flock and, as THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER has said in this connection, "people voting for the Republicans are either conservative, very conservative, or extremely conservative."

...The final touches are being put to the grandiose spectacle to be performed on the American political stage under the title "Presidential Election-88." Political ambitions are clashing, political bigwigs and party bosses are conferring behind the scenes, and a stock of publicity brochures and festive confetti is being laid in... How remote all this is from the wish of the famous American political scientist E. Pessen who urged his compatriots "to proceed from the needs and aspirations of man and nominate educated, gifted people as candidates for the U.S. presidency, people who are distinguished first and foremost by their patience, statesmanship, and love of mankind"... We will add: And by their understanding that Americans are tired of the arms race and war fever and value the first real signs of the new thinking reflected in the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

Congressman Hamilton Cited on Arms Treaty
LD041002 Moscow TASS in English 0846 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 4 (TASS)—The treaty between the USSR and the USA on elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is the first agreement providing not for mere limitation of weapons but for their destruction. The treaty is an important step forward in control over armaments, noted Congressman Lee Hamilton, Democrat. He pointed out in the bulletin FOREIGN AFFAIRS NEWSLETTER that the Soviet-American agreement was an impetus for improving relations between the two countries. The treaty laid down a basis for strengthening international stability and became a prerequisite for new agreements on control over armaments, which is its essence, said Hamilton. He expressed confidence that the treaty would be ratified by the U.S. Senate.

The logic of events is such, the bulletin notes, that a treaty on a considerable cut in strategic weapons should be the next step in the process of control over armaments. Even if this agreement is not ready under the Reagan Administration, this issue should be of top priority for the next administration. Common sense and purely economic considerations indicate that it is easier to defuse tension in Europe not by modernization of conventional weapons but thanks to cuts in and control over armaments, holds the congressman.

Defense Secretary Carlucci To Visit Gulf Region

LD020640 Moscow TASS in English 0623 GMT 2 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 2 TASS—U.S. Secretary of Defence Frank Carlucci sets out on a trip to the Persian Gulf area on Sunday.

An official spokesman for the Pentagon has said that during the eight-day tour Mr Carlucci will visit Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, and Saudi Arabia where he will hold talks with high-ranking representatives of the countries' governments.

Before returning to Washington on January 11 the Pentagon chief is planning to make a brief stop-over in Paris for a meeting with French Government members.

This will be Mr Carlucci's first trip to the Persian Gulf area since he took the place of Caspar Weinberger at the post of defence secretary.

The ASSOCIATED PRESS NEWS AGENCY has reported that there are about thirty U.S. combatant ships in the Persian Gulf area now.

'Standpoint' Program Reviews Summit

LD301017 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1645 GMT on 29 December 1987 carries a 75-minute live phone-in entitled "Standpoint", presented by Genrikh Borovik. The panel is made up of people who were all in Washington for the U.S.-Soviet summit, as follows: (Via) Fritsovna Artman, member of the Soviet Peace Committee delegation; Metropolitan Filaret, who headed a Soviet religious delegation; Grigoriy Yakovlovich Baklanov, editor in chief of ZNAMYA; Vitaliy Alekseyevich Korotich, editor in chief of OGONYEK; and Mikhail Filipovich Shatrov, who attended talks in Washington between the USSR Theater Union and its U.S. counterpart.

The program opens with panel members recounting their favorable impressions of Washington as a city. Next, a viewer asks what U.S. journalists were most interested in during the interviews given by panel members. Borovik says that restructuring was the most frequent topic. He continues: "It was interesting that provocative questions, the openly and explicitly hostile, so to speak, the particularly hostile and slanderous questions, in my view, were no longer in fashion. For example, Mr Shcharanskiy came to one press conference. He sat there for a half hour and left. He understood that he could have no effect on the atmosphere." He goes on: "There were difficult questions, but that is different from provocative questions."

The program continues with a filmed interview with a writer on the struggle for peace and goes on briefly to examine Gorbachev's impromptu walkabout on Connecticut Avenue and the kind of literature that could positively change attitudes in the U.S.-USSR relations.

Next, a viewer asks about U.S. media coverage of Gorbachev's visit. The following exchange takes place:

[Korotich] "You know, what they did well and what, incidentally, we could probably learn from, was that they very actively invited us Soviets to participate. For instance, I twice did television reports, on ABC and CBS. Others also participated. This is very important and in this respect the Americans did a great deal to spread the word, there is no question of that."

[Baklanov] "And we should note their speed. We arrived in the hotel from the news conference, switched on the television, and they were already showing it."

A panel member says: "In this respect it would be good for our television to have the technology that our opposite numbers have."

Further in the program Borovik poses the following question: "They say that Reagan has changed. Could this be true of a person who quite recently accused us of terrorism and even joked that he would make Russia illegal and start bombing in 5 minutes? Are we not building illusions?" The panel members answer as follows:

[Korotich] "Reagan is a very experienced politician, and of course he will never change fundamentally on the social plane. But he is an experienced politician, and he understands that one can no longer maintain relations with the Soviet Union on the level of little jokes about bombing in 5 minutes. In general he is guiding his policies in that direction. I am not saying who brought whom to the table. We consider that we brought the Americans to the negotiating table. But the fact that he has done it does him credit. I think it is a good thing."

[Artman] "I think that Reagan will be held up for praise for a long time for this meeting, for the fact that he held it. But we are faced with very difficult years ahead, following the signing of the treaty. As a performer, Reagan has taken a very beneficial step for himself, but we have reason to believe that he was sincere in doing it."

[Filaret] "Here is an original question: Reagan was sworn in on the Bible, the main commandment which is "Thou shalt not kill." How does this fit with his military policy? Well, I should like to put it like this. First it is a tradition in the United States that presidents—whose attitude to the word of God is their own business—lay their hand on it and swear. I share the opinion already expressed, that there is clearly a change for the better in the mood of the President. We are simply pleased that the agreement was concluded, and may God grant that we may see more such meetings, not only in Washington, but also in Moscow."

[Baklanov] "Whether Reagan has changed or not, none of us knows, of course, because we simply do not know him. You need to know someone closely for that. But circumstances have changed. Still, it was he who called our country the evil empire, and he said: May the Lord grant you safe journey. He said that to the head of our state, the head of our party, he said that to a communist; and it was our country which changed the situation."

There then follows a discussion of various topics: the evils of binary weapons, the USSR's efforts for peace and international understanding since the 27th CPSU Congress, the value of telebridges, and an anti-Soviet demonstration during the Washington summit, which Korotich says turned out to be a flop.

The conversation then reverts to whether the USSR can trust Reagan, following another question from a viewer. Borovik says: "I think that we have already discussed that question; I would just add the saying which Reagan himself used: trust but verify. Incidentally, our agreement which was signed, apart from its uniqueness in the history of mankind, so to speak, is also a breakthrough in the area of verification. That is, it covers full verification of what is happening, and that means a very great deal. We shall not allow ourselves to be deceived. And indeed, there is glasnost."

Baklanov presents a viewer's question, saying "What must be done in order to prevent a repetition of the periods of stagnation and personality cult? Perhaps this should be somehow enshrined in legislation—which is a reflection of our tendency for more and more laws. Well, conscience leads by legislation, does it not? I think that it depends first and foremost on each one of us, on our activeness, on our heroism, on our honesty, on our unwillingness to return to the period of stagnation, and not on new legislation."

Borovik says: "Well, I think here that improving our laws may do no harm, and a constitutional watchdog will do no harm, and there is a great deal also which would do no harm." Here Filaret attempts to speak, but is interrupted by Borovik saying: "Excuse me, Metropolitan Filaret, but since we are dealing with internal themes, I want to ask a question which has come in. Does it not seem to you that in speaking of friendship between the Soviet and U.S. peoples, we must not forget that for us the main thing is still friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union. Not all is well here. Some newspapers have made it a rule to publish reviews of hooligan letters which are offensive to the representatives of various nationalities, referring to glasnost. But glasnost is not permission to offend. Is it not time to take a look at this?"

Baklanov replies: "I can only add that in the first issue of ZNAMYA magazine this year there was a conversation with Doctor of Economics Popov. In particular he says that our newspapers not infrequently create publicity, negative publicity in printing precisely those letters, sometimes hooligan in content, which in no way promote the creation of a moral atmosphere, but on the contrary inflame the hostility of one people against another."

Next, there is a film of a peace lesson in a U.S. school, following which Filaret says:

"I would like to continue the theme of observance of the law and knowledge of our laws, not the creation of new ones, but observance of those we have. People ask here: Various voices have up to now been accusing us of being a godless country, of not permitting freedom of worship. Can we give any grounds for such assertions? Perhaps we provide grounds when we do not observe our Soviet laws, and in connection with this, people ask: Why is it that church services, christenings, and weddings, take place with such difficulty in many towns in our country. I have to say that we have Article 52 of the Constitution which not only gives us the right to profess religion and to do everything necessary according to our belief, but guarantees that right. Now is the time, in light of developments in our country, when Soviet legislation, including the legislation on cults, must be observed absolutely, and then there will be no problems or questions at all, so that none of these drafts will appear in congress, reading: The Soviet Union must observe its obligatiions according to the Helsinki Final Act; the Soviet Union must give universal amnesty; the Soviet Union must allow believers of all ages to go to church. All this is possible and this is happening. It must just happen more tangibly, more emphatically, with observance of all the traditions of each belief."

The program then continues with a discussion of various topics, as follows: political influences in art; the need for a book to be published about the summit; whether a detailed biography of Gorbachev will be published, following his award as Man of the Year, concerning which Borovik says: "It is not a matter for us, but I think there should be one"; the celebration of the 1,000th anniversary of Christianity in Russia, which Filaret says will be held 5-17 June, 1988.

The last questions concern glasnost and restructuring, which Borovik says will not entail the rejection of socialism but rather the exploiting of all the potential of

socialism, and how the missiles covered by the U.S.-USSR arms treaty are to be destroyed. On this latter point, Borovik says he does not know, "there are specialists for that", but Soviet Peace Committee observers representing the public will attend their destruction.

The program closes with wishes for a happy New Year.

Senator's Claims on Ukrainian Church Rebutted

PM041335 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 6

[Orest Mikhaylyuk article: "'Shepherds' Without a Flock. A Short Report for a U.S. Senator"]

[Text] In October 1987 in the course of the "USSR Supreme Soviet-U.S. Congress" television hookup one of the participants in the discussion—Senator Moynihan—besides making commonplace accusations that the socialist system violates human rights, returned several times to the "poor Ukrainian Catholic Church, which is deprived of its rights" and whose believers are allegedly persecuted for their religious convictions. The congressman told the Soviet participants in the debate to authorize the activity of this ecclesiastical association and create some kind of special conditions for its parishioners and clergy.

What is this church? Why has a U.S. parliamentarian focused his attention on it?

Let us start by saying that no "Ukrainian Catholic Church" exists in our country as a religious association. Several years ago a foreign clerical grouping made up of emigres from the Ukraine, including many clergymen and nationalist parishioners who had compromised themselves by collaborating with the Hitlerite occupiers, appropriated this title. The participants in this association are essentially a splinter group and adherents of the well-known—in Western oblasts of the Ukraine—former Uniate (Greek Catholic) Church. It existed under this name there from 1596 to 1946—350 years, no less. It is worth talking in slightly more detail about this church, whose heirs have proclaimed themselves the leaders of the foreign Ukrainian Catholic Church and whose revival a U.S. legislator is advocating.

Roman Jesuits and the Polish feudal elite were the original organizers of the Uniate Church (from the Latin "unio"—union). The new dogma was foisted on the population of the West Ukrainian and West Belorussian lands at the so-called Brest Synod and its introduction was accompanied by mass terror, violence, and deception. For many years the Uniate hierarchy faithfully served the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the Polish gentry and sanctified by all its activity exploitation of the working people.

During the dark days of the fascist calamity the Uniate hierarchy, headed by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptitskiy, served the invaders faithfully, actively using all the ecclesiastical apparatus in the interests of the Nazi "new order."

"By the will of Almighty Gracious God," Metropolitan Andrey wrote in his "pastoral address" of 5 July 1941, "a new era is beginning in the life of our motherland. We welcome the victorious German Army, which has already occupied almost the entire region, with joy and gratitude for liberating us from the enemy." On 6 September the head of the Uniate Church again, this time over the air on a Hitlerite radio station, appealed to believers and the clergy to offer every assistance to the occupiers. Sheptitskiy's radio sermon again resounded with words of gratitude to the fascist army and appeals for "humble prayers for God to bless this heroic army and promote its successful victory over godless Communism."

It must be admitted that the occupiers had quite a high opinion of the loyal sentiments and actions of their Uniate nationalist assistants. The Uniate elite were given large areas of land and were regularly paid large monetary "grants."

The cogent facts of the Hitlerite intelligence service's use of clergymen and Ukrainian nationalists to combat the Soviet state were uncovered at the Nuremberg trials of major war criminals. The role of the former head of the Uniate Church proved to be unsavory. Colonel Erwin Stoltze, chief of the second department of this intelligence service's central apparatus, talked in prison about the former's collaboration with the fascist military intelligence service—the Abwehr. "During the German occupation of the Ukraine," Stoltze indicated, "Captain Professor Koch, an officer of the Abwehr-2 department who was working in Lvov, told me that he was using Metropolitan Sheptitskiy in our work (that is, in the Abwehr's intelligence work—O.M.). I told Admiral Canaris about this and he then drove out for a personal meeting with Sheptitskiy, which Koch organized." During the conversation which took place in the metropolitan's residence in May 1942, Sheptitskiy informed the Abwehr chief of the situation in the Ukraine and of the increase in antifascist activity by Soviet patriots and expounded his proposals for more effective use of clergymen and nationalists in combating the partisan movement.

Bishop Nikita Budka, Nikolay Galyant, archbishopric administrator of affairs, Aleksandr Malinovskiy, apostolic administrator, Avksentiy Boychuk, rector of the Stanislav Ecclesiastical Seminary, and other Uniate dignitaries from the metropolitan's entourage regularly supplied fascist punitive organs with information about patriots participating in the struggle against the occupiers and Soviet people hiding from Nazi genocide or from being taken to concentration camps in Germany.

The Uniate hierarchy took a very active part in the formation of the "Galichina" 14th SS Division, which was used by the fascist command both directly at the front and also against the partisans. With Himmler's sanction, the division included a large number of Uniate Vasilian monks, seminarists, and also more than 20 clergymen, headed by mitered abbot [mitrat] Vasiliy Laboy, who performed the functions of regiment and battalion chaplains in the division.

Nowadays the leaders of the foreign Uniate and bourgeois nationalist groups try to dissociate themselves from their former fascist masters and try to cleanse themselves of the shameful stain of treachery. A propaganda story has been circulated alleging that the 14th SS Division did not fight for Hitler or for the accursed "Third Reich," but for the "Ukraine," "in defense of the Christian religion." The present head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church Cardinal M. Lyubochivskiy and Doctor of Theology I. Nagayevskiy, former deputy chief chaplain in the SS "Galichina" division, have recently made this sort of statement. But you can't get away from the facts. You need only look at the oath of the 14th division, which was administered, by the way, by Uniate chaplains: "To be true to Adolf Hitler as Fuehrer and supreme commander in chief of the German Armed Forces. To faithfully serve Adolf Hitler as Fuehrer of Greater Germany. To be true to Adolf Hitler as the great Fuehrer of a new Europe all my life."

The Uniate elite also have on their black conscience the blessing of the bloody gangs of the so-called Ukrainian Rebel Army, organized and trained by Hitlerites with a view to strengthening the Wehrmacht's rear and stepping up terror against the unsubdued peaceful population. Sheptitskiy and other Uniate dignitaries frequently received gang ringleaders and did their utmost to encourage their profascist activity and give them material support. Many Uniate clergymen and their children who did everything to strengthen the sinister "alliance of the cross and the trident" occupied leading positions in the subversive terrorist Ukrainian Nationalists' Organization, in the Ukrainian Rebel Army, and in the bloody Banderite Security Service. They included I. Grinokh, member of the Ukrainian Nationalists' Organization main branch and a clergyman, and the ringleaders of the organization were the sons of clergymen: S. Bandera, Ya. Stetsko, S. Lenkaskiy, and many others.

The subservience to the Hitlerite occupiers and the sinister alliance with the gangs conclusively revealed the true face of the Uniate hierarchy in the eyes of believers. Thus the desire of most of the patriotic clergy and believers to dissociate themselves from the profascist elite once and for all and finish with the Brest Union is understandable. In March 1946—incidentally the U.S. senator must know this—a representative synod of the Uniate (Greek Catholic) Church was held in Lvov chaired by Protopresbyter Gavrill Kostelnik, a prominent ecclesiastic, subsequently villainously murdered by the Banderites. The synod adopted the decision: "To annul the resolutions of the Brest Synod of 1596, eliminate the union, split with the Vatican, and return to our sacred illustrious ancestral faith and the Russian Orthodox Church."

These in short are the facts of the inglorious past of the clerical nationalist association which certain U.S. congressmen are now defending. The question arises: How have today's fragments of the Uniate Church in the West pleased their patrons? In return for what "services" do they defend the right to exist in our country of a church formation condemned by believers and clergy alike?

Is this protection (which is effectively interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state) not associated with the present anti-Soviet, anticommunist activity of foreign Uniates and Banderites? For it is no secret to anyone that nowadays they continue to use religion as a cover for conducting ideological subversion against our country and against the Soviet Ukraine. Possibly someone on Capitol Hill is impressed by the appeal from a Uniate nationalist preacher "to revive the traditions of the medieval crusader knights who went to liberate the Holy Land from blasphemous infidels" or by the demand from K. Nagayevskiy, the aforementioned Uniate ideologist with the SS past, to take revenge for defeat in World War II and continue the struggle against Moscow under other, "more promising" standards? "This struggle," the former fascist chaplain writes in his "Memoirs" published in Toronto, "continues and will continue until the complete and conclusive victory of this great idea... Military fortune is fickle and he who lost yesterday may win tomorrow."

Today people are once again cherishing hopes of illusory "military fortune." It is not surprising that, adopting Pentagon terminology, the Uniate nationalist leaders have become heralds of the nuclear missile arms race and frenzied adherents of the "Star Wars" strategy. Not content with anathematizing peace fighters, the Banderite pupils of the "church fathers" have told their masters to employ "wartime laws, including the death penalty," no less, against peace fighters. Using their experience, the nationalists have bluntly recommended that the U.S. Administration "shoot half of the 1,600 pacifists in detention in the United States and put the other half in concentration camps."

Thus Senator Moynihan would very much like to attack the restructuring under way in our country by exploiting the religious factor and cast aspersions on the position of the church and believers in the USSR. But it would seem that he has chosen a very bad target for this unsavory purpose.

And although foreign Uniate and bourgeois nationalist centers, acting in the mainstream of reactionary imperialist circles, are still continuing their dark deeds, their

efforts are in vain. Since they have lost any connection with the Ukrainian people and do not have any support from most Ukrainians abroad the "eternal has-beens" can only count on oblivion.

AVIATION WEEK Cited on SDI Projects

PM311202 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Dec 87 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Stepping Up Work on SDI"]

[Text] New York, 28 Dec—The United States is stepping up work on creating armaments for "Star Wars" systems. It is also planned to develop technology to ensure the "survival" of space devices in conditions of hostilities, the magazine AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY writes.

The volume of funds for research within the SDI framework, according to the journal, increased by 75% in fiscal 1988 and totaled approximately $100 million. As Colonel J. Khess [as published], spokesman for the SDI implementation organization, noted, "in the last 3 years the Air Force has invested more funds in the relevant projects than in the previous 15 years."

Work is also under way in the United States to create orbital combat stations. One of the main aims of this research is to provide laser devices, electromagnetic guns, and beam weapons sited on the stations with a reliable and efficient energy source. An analysis of data from the SPIAR-1 [as published] experiment carried out on 13 December this year, AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY writes, advanced work in this sphere.

It is planned to complete work to ensure the protection of orbital stations which could fulfill combat functions by the beginning of the first stage of deployment of the "Star Wars" systems.

Pentagon Ground Test of SDI Laser Reported

LD031007 Moscow TASS in English 0834 GMT 3 Jan 88

[Text] New York January 3 TASS—The Pentagon has conducted a ground test of a new superpowerful laser intended to be used in the Strategic Defense Initiative program.

THE NEW YORK TIMES reported today with reference to a representative of the laboratory for developing armaments for the U.S. Air Force in Albuquerque, New Mexico, that the test had been a success.

The laser whose capacity is believed to reach 2 million watts is planned to be put into near-Earth orbit in the 90s.

CNN Report on Future of SDI Program Cited

LD020744 Moscow TASS in English 0733 GMT 2 Jun 88

[Text] Washington January 2 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev reports:

The delay with the resumption of U.S. re-usable space shuttle flights, whose fleet remains to be grounded following the "Challanger" disaster, can slow down the pace to implement the "Star Wars" programme, the CNN Television Network reports. It points out that the Pentagon used shuttles on a wide scale to perform many of its experiments in space.

Being confronted with the permanent delay in shuttle flights, the Pentagon Strategic Defence Initiative Organisation is now on the look out for new opportunities to place secret military payloads in orbit and conduct its experiments. For instance, the Pentagon has planned under the "Star Wars" programme the launching of the Delta booster rocket for early 1988, CNN reports. Although the details of this mission are still kept under wraps, it has been learnt that the planned experiments will be by far more extensive than during the similar Delta launch in 1986.

On the whole, officials involved in carrying through the "Star Wars" programme begin the new year in an optimistic mood even though Congress moved to cut the appropriations for the SDI requested by the Administration, CNN points out. What gives rise to this optimism is that the programme to build a large-scale anti-missile system with space-based elements remains to top priority of President Reagan in the military field since the moment when he first announced about it in 1983.

At the same time, all scientists and military men involved in the SDI programme realize well that 1988 can become the last year when they recieve such lavish support from the White House, CNN reports. Many political news analysts in the United States hold that the outcome of the 1988 presidential elections can affect most directly the future pace to implement the "Star Wars" programme.

U.S. Youth Delegation Arrives for Conference

LD031957 Moscow TASS in English 1905 GMT 3 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—A delegation of the Council of American Youth political leaders has arrived in Moscow today. It will attend a conference with the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations. As a TASS correspondent was told by Hodding Carter, co-chairman of the American delegation, he attaches enormous significance to the current conference for three reasons. It is important, in the first place, for developing discussions, a start for which was made by the leaders of our states in Iceland, continued in Geneva and then in Washington on diverse issues of paramount significance for both

sides, the main of which is arms control. Secondly, the conference is important for the development of our ties, relations of friendship which were established in the early 70's and the programme for our exchanges. At last, it is necessary to try, basing ourselves on the experience of the past years, to deepen and broaden these relations so that in the future we should have the same successful and constructive meetings as in the past.

The conference of the USSR Youth Organizations Committee and the Council of American Youth political leaders is due to open on Monday, January 4, and close on January 5. Besides the programme for the stay of the American delegation in the USSR provides for a series of important meetings and discussions, sightseeing tours of Moscow and Leningrad.

Goals, Proceedings Cited

LD042018 Moscow TASS in English 1934 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—Young Soviet and U.S. people involved in youth exchanges between their countries in the past ten to 15 years opened a get-together in Moscow today.

Sponsored by the Committee of Youth Organizations (CYO) of the USSR and the American Council of Young Political Leaders (ACYPL), it is called the CYO/ACYPL Alumni Conference.

The meeting was described as unprecedented by CYO Chairman Sergey Chelnokov who spoke at the opening session.

The leader of the Republican group on the U.S. delegation, Congressman Donald Sundquist from Tennessee, told TASS that many of those who had been part of exchanges between Soviet and U.S. youth organizations in the'70s were now prominent on their countries' political scenes.

He said it was very important for politicians in both countries today "to get to know each other on a personal basis" and that was one of the conference's objectives.

It will continue for two days and discuss various aspects of the Soviet-U.S. relationship. Other matters to be debated include ways of preventing nuclear war, arms limitation and reduction, human rights, and regional conflicts.

The attendees are going to pay much attention to examining prospects for developing Soviet-U.S. contacts in economic, scientific, technological, educational and cultural fields.

The program of the U.S. delegation's stay in Moscow provides for meetings at the Communist Party's Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet (parliament) and the Council of Ministers and also for meetings with senior officials from the Foreign Ministry, the Defense Ministry and other ministries and agencies.

Briefs

Gorbachev Visit Chronicled

Politizdat has published a collection on the visit of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the United States. It contains material on the Soviet leader's official visit to Washington from 7-10 December, reports on the Soviet-U.S. summit, the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles between the USSR and the United States, the text of the treaty and connected documents. The collection includes the speeches and conversations of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev with state figures, U.S. Congress leaders and representatives of business circles, the scientific and cultural public, and the media. The report of the meeting of the Warsaw Pact countries' leaders, a report about the session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium are published. [Text] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0304 GMT 26 Dec 87 LD*]

China

CPC Holds Conference on 'Party Work Style'

PM041557 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Dec 87 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Conference at CPC Central Committee"]

[Text] Beijing, 24 Dec—According to a report in today's RENMIN RIBAO, the CPC Central Committee Secretariat held a conference 9-10 December which "seriously discussed important issues concerning the current state of party work style." The participants in the conference, which was chaired by Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, pointed out that the CPC "will be able to stand the test of power, reform, and broader ties with the outside world." It was noted at the same time that "party style, on which successful party activity largely depends, must be very seriously improved and perfected. There are negative phenomena within the party such as the use of power for personal ends and bureaucracy, with which some CPC members, including leaders, are infected. Instances in which an unhealthy style is apparent, as well as rumors on this score which are frequently exaggerated and groundless, must be closely looked into and properly resolved."

The conference stated that "party style is closely linked with the country's current reform and policy of expanding ties with the outside world, which have given new, vital strength to the party and increased its ability to counteract the corrupting influence of various factors." At the same time, the conference participants pointed

out, it must be borne in mind that problems will inevitably arise during the reform and expansion of ties with the outside world which will have to be studied and resolved in good time. Very serious thought must be given to the ways and means of limiting the effects of negative factors and studying and solving important issues concerning party work style. It was stressed that "party committees at various levels are obliged to make these issues the most important on the agenda."

Northeast Asia

'Discreet Trust' Important in Nuclear Age

OW050607 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 4 Jan 88

[From the "Peace and Disarmament" program]

[Text] Among the most frequently noted words in the letters from our listeners in Japan are probably peace, friendship, mutual understanding, and trust. In this connection, we would like to talk about trust today.

Do you know the origin of the European custom of taking off gloves and extending bare hands to greet people? This is a symbolic action, indicating that you have no weapons and thereby no intention of attacking your acquaintance. However, there has been no period in history in which trust and openness count so much as now. What is most important in the world today is not frantic intimidation but discreet trust. With the appearance of nuclear weapons capable of annihilating life on the earth, the issue concerning trust has become of the same importance as that of mankind's survival.

By signing a treaty in Washington on complete abolition of long- and short-range intermediate nuclear missiles, the Soviet Union has, so to speak, taken off its gloves to indicate its peace-loving orientation. This is a practical manifestation of a new move, indicating that Soviet actions always correspond with words. The signing of the treaty does not bring about trust merely among the Warsaw Pact and NATO member nations. The treaty is also directly concerned with Asian and Pacific nations, including Japan. The suspension of missile production, as well as abolition and verification of missiles, will be carried out in the Soviet Far East. The vital point lies in the fact that, in order to carry out the INF Treaty, the Soviet Union has withdrawn the issue of maintaining 100 INF warheads in its Far Eastern region.

Well then, do the Soviet Union and its allies have any plans to strengthen trust in the future? Of course they do, and several statements have been issued on this subject. They have plans to take various steps in the Asian region and preparations are now under way to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The Soviet troops are scheduled to withdraw by the end of this year or even at an earlier time. However, the withdrawal will be carried out only if the United States and its allies stop their direct military support to the Afghan counterrevolutionary clique. During the past few months, remarkable advances were made in the process of normalizing the Cambodian situation.

Thus, intermediate missiles will be abolished, Soviet troops have withdrawn from Mongolia, and deadlocked situation in Afghanistan and Cambodia is expected to be resolved. All these may serve as a foundation that will lead to building up trust among the peoples of the Asian and Pacific nations. Nevertheless, to build up firm trust, some ill-balanced elements of this foundation have to be eliminated.

What, then, are the imbalances? Please take a look at the map of Asia. The Soviet Union has no military bases in the Pacific region, not to mention nuclear bases. Meanwhile, the United States has very many bases in this region. U.S. nuclear weapons are overtly deployed in South Korea. Military bases and facilities in Japan, Australia, Canada, the Philippines, Guam, and Samoa, as well as on islands in Kwajalein Atoll, the Mariana Islands, Midway Island, Johnson Island, the Hawaiian Islands, and the Aleutian Islands are incooporated to form a nuclear infrastructure. Japan and the United States do not conceal the fact that they have set their aims at the three straits of Korea, Tsugaru, and Soya, with the purpose of blocking the Soviet navy's exits into the Pacific Ocean.

We have the impression that, nowadays, the United States regards the Pacific Ocean as its own inland sea and has never seriously considered the possibility of holding talks on limiting military activities in this region. This has somehow turned the northwest Pacific into an area embodied with great danger. As an alternative to intensified confrontation, the Soviet Union has worked out the concept of a comprehensive international security system. Furthermore, as the first step to building up this system, the Soviet Union has proposed measures to strengthen trust. Many of the Soviet proposals have to do directly with the Asia and Pacific region. Some people opposed to this system hold that building up trust is merely a propaganda slogan and a political illusion. However, a statement can be made to negate these remarks.

The USSR-U.S. treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles has proved that trust does not preclude, but on the contrary, prearranges the most accurate measure of verification. Such trust has nothing whatever to do with the trust cherished by Japan's official circles allowing U.S. naval vessels' port calls in Japan while believing these vessels carry no nuclear weapons.

Will verification eventually write off trust? Verification is regarded not as mere rhetoric but, on the contrary, as an effective measure to promote a peace-loving policy. Those Pacific nations maintaining the need to establish nuclear-free zones are heading precisely for this orientation. The situation in New Zealand is a well-known

example. The parliament has adopted a law forbidding port calls by vessels carrying nuclear weapons or by nuclear-powered vessels. Moreover, the Republic of Belau adopted a bill instituting a nuclear-free zone in 1979. Since 1983, the Government of the Republic of Vanuatu has not admitted port calls by any foreign vessels failing to prove they carry no nuclear weapons.

In general, there is no such thing as unilateral trust. Americans often say it takes two to tango. But we would like to say that it takes two to trust. In some cases, it may take three or four. What is most important is that the process of strengthening trust is based on reciprocity. The Soviet Union has now taken the first step. In this connection, if the United States and its allies, naturally including Japan, would take steps to limit war preparations and military stances in the Asian and Pacific region, the Soviet Union would certainly take appropriate measures to support the process. What is particularly necessary at the present is to overcome the distrust which has accumulated in the past decades. No more time should be spent on the attempt to seek unilateral superiorty and to defeat the opponent.

We have just broadcast a talk on the issue concerning trust in this nuclear age.

U.S. To Involve Japan in Hi-Tech Arms Plans

PM041601 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

["Commentator's Column" by Vsevolod Ovchinnikov: "From SDI to BTI"]

[Text] U.S. strategists have decided to add yet another newly-coined term to the military-political vocabulary. Since the acronym SDI ("Strategic Defense Initiative") has gained currency on the pages of the Western press, a new term BTI ("Balanced Technological Initiative") has been launched.

After the signing of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the Japanese press explains, the Washington administration intends to concentrate on creating various types of weapons—both nonnuclear and dual-purpose weapons using conventional and nuclear warheads. The "Balanced Technological Initiative" is designed to pool the efforts of the United States and its allies in the development of a fundamentally new generation of combat hardware. And since neither the United States nor the West European countries are able to substantially increase their military budgets, a "balanced" approach has been proposed which makes provision for, first, technological cooperation and, second, sharing the financial burden.

In view of the two aforementioned factors, a key role in the implementation of BTI is assigned to Japan. After all, it has in many respects outstripped its Western rivals in the standard of technology and furthermore, its financial potential is much greater. Year after year, Japanese exports exceed imports by almost $100 billion. At a time when the United States has become a major debtor country, Japan is a major creditor country. The Japanese are not only acquiring the U.S. treasury bonds funding the U.S. budget deficit, they are also buying up skyscrapers in New York and Los Angeles. On the other hand, while Tokyo's military expenditure only recently topped the 1% of GNP mark, Washington spends 7% for these purposes. Hence the desire to turn the Land of the Rising Sun into a design bureau and at the same time the treasurer of the U.S. military-industrial complex.

The U.S. Administration officially briefed Tokyo on the "Balanced Technological Initiative" for the first time at the regular bilateral consultations on military questions. Attaching paramount importance to Japanese participation in BTI, President Reagan intends to raise this question during Prime Minister Takeshita's upcoming January visit to Washington.

BTI and SDI are essentially twins. Since in both cases there is evidence of a desire to compensate for the reduction in nuclear stockpiles by switching the arms race to another sphere.

Japan Pressured To Reduce Iranian Oil Purchases

LD042039 Moscow TASS in English 2030 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Nicosia Janaury 4 TASS—Under the pressure of the Washington administration, Japan has reported to a considerable reduction in the import of Iranian oil.

The oil newsletter published here reports that the Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry has instructed Japanese commercial companies to cut down the purchases of oil in Iran in the first quarter of this year from 300,000 to 242,000 barrels a day.

This decision, in the judgement of knowledgeable political analysts, constitutes an obvious concession to the United States which seeks Tokyo's accession to the economic boycott of Iran. The decision is also indicative of the limited nature of Japan's so-called independent policy with regard to Persian Gulf states from where Japan receives a half of the amount of oil necessary for it.

Near East & South Asia

Afghanistan's Najibullah Receives Shevardnadze

LD041645 Moscow TASS in English 1611 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 4 (TASS)—Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan and general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee, today met Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, foreign minister of the USSR. Shevardnadze arrived in Afghanistan on a working visit.

More on Arrest of Frenchman in Afghanistan

Prison Interview

PM041319 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian
3 Jan 88 p 3

[Interview with French journalist Alain Guillo by "our own correspondent" Mikhail Kozhukhov in Kabul, under the rubric "Caught Red-handed!": "'Journey' Behind Bars"; date of interview not given; first paragraph is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction; boldface passages as published]

[Text] The trial is beginning in Kabul of the French citizen Alain Guillo, who illegally penetrated Afghan territory. Our own correspondent Mikhail Kozhukhov has met with him.

Stearin candles burned in the solitary confinement investigation cell of the Afghan Ministry of State Security and a small cake was on the table. The accused, Alain Jean Etienne Guillo, a French citizen, was celebrating his 45th birthday here 2 October 1987.... A few weeks later, when the investigation into his case had been completed, Afghanistan's special revolutionary prosecutor's office gave permission for this interview. [Kozhukhov] "Mr Guillo, can I call you a colleague?" [Guillo] "Of course. I work for the French Sygma agency and my speciality is press and television photography." [Kozhukhov] "Is it true that this is your ninth visit to Afghanistan?" [Guillo] "Yes. Since 1980 I have been coming here from Pakistan almost every year, as a rule in the summer. You know, summer in Europe is not the best time for photography." [Kozhukhov] "Traveling through a country in the grips of war and without a visa is a dangerous hobby, don't you think?" [Guillo] "Perhaps. But I love this country—one of the most beautiful countries in the world."

From time to time I will permit myself to interrupt my interlocutor to fill in his terse answers with a few details from materials with which I was familiarized by the Afghan prosecutor's office staffers.

Of French nationality, he was born in Vietnam, in Haiphong, where his father, a French Army career officer, was serving at the time. Having graduated from college back home, Guillo studied advertising in Marseille, then spent 2 years in Britain, worked in Canada, and lived in the United States for a while. When he returned to France, according to him, until 1980 he "worked unflaggingly" in various advertising agencies and in the design departments of large printing works.

In January 1980 Alain Guillo finally decided to rest from his righteous labors. He took some leave and set off for the Himalayas. But either there was no room for him in the mountaineering camps or else he changed his mind in mid-journey—Guillo says nothing about it in his evidence. For some reason instead of visiting the mountains he found himself in Peshawar, in Pakistan, where, he says, he met with the American photographic reporter Steve Makkeri [name as published]. Steve was the person who first tempted his new French friend with a walk to the Afghan Konar valley. There would have been nothing to it if the "tourists" had had visas. But the point was that Guillo made both his first trip and subsequent trips to Afghanistan illegally. [Kozhukhov] "Tell me, how did you manage to cross the border?" [Guillo] "Oh, it wasn't as difficult as it might seem. The only thing required was to establish contact with the 'mujahidin' organizations in Peshawar. Of course, they have to know you or at least you should carry letters of recommendation." [Kozhukhov] "Did you have them?" [Guillo] Yes, I had friends in Peshawar even after that fortuitous trip in 1980." [Kozhukhov] "But what do people do if they have no friends in Pakistan?" [Guillo] "Well, I will give you one name: Look for Kurt Lobek [name as published], he will organize everything. He is an American, also a journalist. You can mention my name—that will be enough. He knows me well: There is scarcely a single foreign reporter who has walked more kilometers in Afghanistan than I have."

This is perhaps the right time to believe Alain Guillo: In addition to Konar he has visited Nangarhar, Qandahar, Panjsher, Balkh, and Hazarehjat. His trips to Afghanistan lasted 2 or 3 months. He traveled both alone and with other foreigners whose names he has... "forgotten." True, he has an excellent recollection of the routes, right up to the names of small hamlets where the dushman convoys with which he was traveling would stop. Indeed, the range of acquaintances of the obscure photographic reporter from Sygma is actually broad: Virtually the entire leadership of the Afghan counterrevolution.

However, anyone who thinks that Guillo filled the pages of French publications and French screens with photographs and documentary movies taken in Afghanistan would be wrong. According to him the result of eight trips was just two dozen photographs and two short video films of about 10-15 minutes. Not much, you will agree. Was is worth risking his life just for that? It looks as though Sygma was not the French journalist's only client. This time Guillo intended to make only a short film for Sygma. But if this was the case, for whom were the several hours of videocassettes he had shot intended? [Kozhukhov] "You are familiar with very many of the people who in the West are called 'fighters for the faith.' What is your opinion of them?" [Guillo] "They include many honest people who want good for their motherland. They have a hard life: They are waging a struggle with virtually none of the wherewithal for it and with very meager armaments. They are people whom I respect." [Kozhukhov] "Mr Guillo, the honest people whom you respect have in the years since the revolution fully or partly destroyed about 2,000 schools, and hundreds of thousands of children in Afghanistan today are unable to study...." [Guillo] "I was simply shocked when I found out about it! But then I realized that the state puts the local administration and security posts in the school buildings." [Kozhukhov] "In 2 years of work in Afghanistan I

have seen dozens of schools destroyed by them. I can assure you that not one of them housed the local administration. They were destroyed solely because they had become in the dushmans' eyes a symbol of the changes they hate.... Do you not believe that the honest people concerned for the destiny of their motherland have had a good chance to do a lot for it—a chance to end the war? Why should they not heed the Afghan Government's appeal for national reconciliation?" [Guillo] "I only learned of this policy when I was in prison. It seems to me it is a very sensible step: Peace—that is what Afghanistan needs today."

We will have to leave to Mr Guillo's conscience the fact that he who, as he says, is closely concerned with Afghanistan's problems, learned of the policy of national reconciliation only a year after it was declared.

And, finally, about the "scant means" with whose aid the "honest people"—the dushmans—are struggling against the revolution. Deliveries of the most modern armaments to the Afghan counterrevolution have been carried out since at least early 1979. As a result the total financial aid to the dushmans over these years has already exceeded 1.7 billion dollars. [Kozhukhov] "Mr Guillo, this time your destination was Andkhvoy, a small town near the Afghan-Soviet border in Faryab Province. What was it about it that interested you?" [Guillo] "It is the Afghan backwoods. I was there about 5 years ago and I had decided to find out what changes had taken place in Andkhvoy over those years. I wanted to make a film about it and at the same time to visit old friends. But the main thing, of course, was my sociological or to be more precise my sociopolitical interest." [Kozhukhov] "But your notebooks... they contain neither sociology nor politics. Only the names of bandit leaders, the size of the gangs, the arms available in them, and the deployment of government and Soviet troops. Why did you need that?" [Guillo] "Personal interest. You see, when I visit a country I like to find out details. Especially when it is a case of a war-torn country."

Again I will have to interrupt my interlocutor: I need to add to his words a few details from the evidence of his interpreter, the Afghan Abdul Samad, who accompanied the Frenchmen from his first step on Afghan soil.

During his trip to Andkhvoy, Abdul Samad reported, Guillo had several talks with commanders of bandit formations in Faryab Province. Of special interest to him were information on the ringleaders themselves, the party allegiance and numerical strength of active detachments of extremists, the location of their headquarters and of the "Islamic committees" (the cells of dushman power on Afghan territory). Guillo asked detailed questions about the location of the Afghan Army and People's Militia security posts as well as the Soviet troop subunits, and made marks on maps as he did so. Nor did he overlook a project of Afghan-Soviet economic cooperation—the gas and oil pipelines in Sheberghan—and he asked questions about who was ensuring their safety, and how. Guillo also displayed close interest in the presence and type of armaments his interlocutors possessed. Particularly in instances of their use of Stingers—U.S. air defense missiles. [Kozhukhov] "You are charged with actions aimed at harming the interests of Afghanistan—a country with which France maintains diplomatic relations. What do you think about that?" [Guillo] "I am an objective witness and I cannot direct my activity 'for' or 'against' what exists. It is a journalist's duty to come and see for himself. My only weapons in Afghanistan were my camera and my video camera. What is bad about that?"

There is much that is bad about it. If only because the video film Guillo shot can in no way be called the evidence of an eye-witness. It contains two or three documentary scenes and all the rest is the dushmans' amateur work directed by Guillo and his approving responses to successful takes can be heard off camera. For instance, here is the often repeated "thirst scene": the "fighters for the faith," exhausted by their march across the desert, are eagerly drinking water. In the unedited film you can see clearly how the dushmans, having gotten a good take, look into the camera with satisfaction. Here is the often repeated "attack"—dushmans on horseback bear down on the camera shouting "Allah is great!", "Kill the Soviets!" Here are "the consequences of a Soviet bomb raid"—a destroyed hamlet. Yet you only have to talk about it with the interpreter Abdul Samad for it to emerge that the hamlet had in reality suffered from a mudslide from the mountains... And that is objective reality?!

By an irony of fate the producer was betrayed by the chief hero of the film that never was—Rasul Pahlawan, commander of one of the gangs. Rasul was indeed someone who was not indifferent to his motherland's fate. Taking advantage of the chance now offered to every person in Afghanistan by the policy of national reconciliation, Pahlawan went over to the government's side together with his men and their weapons. He also decided that it would be better if the Afghan authorities were acquainted with his guest from France. [Kozhukhov] "Mr Guillo, excuse my frankness, but I have a delicate question about the people who enter Afghanistan illegally. Of course, you know that the war in Afghanistan is the CIA's biggest operation since the Vietnam war, and that the Pakistani residence is a leading one in the U.S. intelligence department. It is also known that Americans in both Pakistan and Afghanistan work in close contact with their European colleagues. Surely in all the years of your trips to that country the special services staffers must have tried to use your trips in their own interests?" [Guillo] "Quite possibly: All the special services of the world do indeed work in the border regions of Pakistan. But when I arrive in Peshawar I prefer to have a good night's rest at the hotel and to prepare for my forthcoming trip—I do little socializing. Of course, over these years I have nevertheless met with many people. Perhaps they were KGB or CIA agents—how should I know? I have never had reason to conceal anything about my trips to Afghanistan."

Yet I believe that Alain Guillo nonetheless does have reason to do so. Just as there are questions connected with his trips which still remain unanswered. How did the Frenchman manage to get past the posts of the vigilant Pakistani police in the regions bordering on Afghanistan—perhaps the police were simply forewarned of his trips? Guillo asserts that all his trips were of a personal nature-but why then on each occasion did he notify the French Embassy in Pakistan? Why did a journalist intending to make a video film about the "changes in Andkhvoy" need such detailed military information?

The presence of foreigners in the counterrevolutionary gangs is nothing new for Afghanistan. Just recently there have been 36 foreign military advisers—Americans, Frenchmen, and Arabs—operating in the detachments of "holdouts" who are continuing the war in Khost autonomous region close to the Pakistani border.

As for visitors like Guillo, in the period of the implementation of the national conciliation policy alone, I was told at the Afghan Defense Ministry, representatives of 11 states have visited 23 of the country's provinces. Afghan military men believe that the interest of the overwhelming majority of these people in Afghanistan was far from "personal." They engaged in terrorist, subversive, and intelligence activity under the control of and under instructions from the Western special services which are now doing everything possible to thwart the Afghan Government's attempts to end the war, to wreck the process of settlement of Afghan problems, and to make the Soviet troops' return to the motherland impossible.

Soon the "traveler" will face the court. The court will obviously answer the main question in this matter: Who is he really, and why did this man now sitting facing me dressed in striped prison clothing—Alain Jean Etienne Guillo—come to Afghanistan?

Receives 10 Year Prison Term

LD041955 Moscow TASS in English 1924 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 4 TASS—A special revolutionary court of Afghanistan today sentenced French national Alain Guillo to ten years in prison after finding him guilty of having illegally crossed into Afghanistan from Pakistan, stayed with a hostile anti-government group and engaged in subversive activities and espionage for Western powers.

Afghan nationals said Abdul Samad, who had accompanied Guillo as an interpreter, and Muhammad Nazar, who had been his guide and bodyguard, were each sentenced to 16 years in jail for high treason.

In keeping with the law, the trial was in camera as witnesses disclosed military, political and economic data which is a state secret.

Six days before the trial Guillo was provided with a lawyer and an official interpreter so that he could prepare his defense. All judicial and procedural norms were thus observed.

Newsmen and a counsellor of the French Embassy were admitted into the court-room as the verdict was about to be read.

It was established that Guillo had crossed the Afghan-Pakistani border with a gang led by Sayyed Ahmad. The Frenchman ended up in the hands of Afghan authorities on September 12, 1987, when a group under Rasul, which he had joined after leaving that of Sayyed Ahmad, went over to the side of the popular government.

That happened in the area of the populated locality of Bazar-e Taleh in Faryab Province not far from the Soviet-Afghan border.

Things confiscated from Guillo included topographic maps with Afghan and Soviet posts marked on them, a diary describing those posts in detail, including the number of troops manning them and their arms, and motion-picture and photographic material showing Soviet frontier posts on the Soviet-Afghan border.

Former members of the anti-government group testified that where he had not been able to do that himself, Guillo had sent other group members to take pictures of the Soviet border.

Until recently Guillo lived at 7, Frochod St in Paris. According to his words, he is a journalist currently working for the French photo agency Sygma.

Also confiscated from Guillo were his personal documents issued by anti-government forces and a letter of recommendation from Abdul Haq, one of their chieftains, to Moulavi Said Muhammad Qul, requesting assistance to the "French journalist".

It became known that Guillo had been to Afghanistan illegally eight times before. During those trips he incited members of anti-government groups to step up their subversive activities and inquired about their needs for arms and ammunition.

That man, whose photographs were, to put it mildly, not quite professional, did not shrink from directly tampering with facts. For example, he passed the aftermath of a mud slide he had photographed in the village of Madar in Bamyan province off for the consequences of a devastating Soviet air raid.

The court could have given Guillo much harsher punishment: The charge of espionage carries the death penalty. However, guided by the humane principles of the policy of national reconciliation, the Afghan court met the defense counsel's request and passed a softer sentence.

The ruling is final. It was explained to Guillo that he could send a request for a pardon to the president of Afghanistan.

Further on Operation To Relieve Khowst Region

PM041645 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Okulov dispatch: "Blockade Run—PRAVDA's Own Correspondent Reports From Region of Combat Operations on Road to Khowst"]

[Text] Gardeyz-Kabul—...The highway emerges from adobe Gardeyz and, among the "unshaven" foothills covered in a tough, prickly growth, heads for a lilac-colored range with slight shading caused by sparse stands of trees. A dull day is breaking. There is no way the sun will melt the gray clouds from within. The combat vehicle's armor feels ice-cold. Another day, and all the indications are that snow is bound to fall.

Some 300 meters up a path stands the control and observation post of a subunit of the limited contingent of Soviet troops on the Sataw-Kandaw Pass. The frozen waves of the range are clearly visible. Blue puffs of smoke occasionally rise silently above them: Artillery is shelling the gangs' fortified areas.

In the middle of the control and observation post a New Year's tree stands by a post supporting the camouflage net. But, instead of toys, a captured machine gun and other weapons—all foreign made—lie at its base. No more than 10 km remain until the Soviet and Afghan subunits approaching each other from Gardeyz and from Khowst meet. They are now throwing back armed rebel groupings from the highway. But, in order to reliably open up the road, the gangs' base areas must also be eliminated. The center of the operation is shifting to there.

I will remind readers of the operation's purpose.

For 9 years the Khowst District, which borders on Pakistan, has essentially been cut off from the central part of the country by the rebel Jardan tribe. The Jardans with their tribal structure are traditional enemies of state power, jealously guard their privileges, and keep to themselves. Through active propaganda the counterrevolution succeeded in turning against the government the more than 120,000-strong tribe, which is capable of arming 10,000-15,000 people. The weakness of the state management mechanism, treachery, and mistakes contributed to this. Of course, it is naive to imagine that the entire tribe is of a counterrevolutionary mind, but the power system within it, the centuries-old way of life, religious conservatism, and the traditions of unquestioning submission to the elders' decisions make social outcasts of those who realize what a tragic role the Jardans are playing in the present Afghan reality.

The tribe is ruled virtually single-handedly by the 45-year-old mullah Jalalluddin, who belongs to the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" grouping headed by Yunus Khalis. In violation of the customs of tribal democracy Jalalluddin succeeded in wresting absolute power away from the jirgah [assembly] of elders and essentially became tribal dictator. He has amassed millions which he has invested in Pakistani, Saudi Arabian, and FRG banks.

The Jardans' extremist leaders have turned the tribe's territory into a fortified area, saturated it with modern weapons, and done a good deal of work to make it renowned as unassailable.

With the gangs being equipped with U.S. and British "surface-to-air" missiles, the Jardans' blockade of Khowst was becoming increasingly tough. The district had always been a tasty morsel for the leaders of the Afghan counterrevolution. For many years they have kept alive their hopes of capturing Khowst and setting up their own government there. The district's population lives in poverty. It needs urgent assistance. Food and goods can be brought in only along the strategic road that leads from Kabul to Gardeyz and on to Khowst. It was this that had to be opened.

In mid-November Afghan and Soviet subunits launched an offensive from Gardeyz. There is nothing but minefields from the 12th km of the road to the range. The subunits took all the heights by force. By all accounts, it had been drummed into the bandits that the pass they were defending could not be taken....

However, this was done in 3 days. The way was opened up for the troops to the counterrevolution's base area—Saran [name as published]. But the Loya Jirgah, meeting in Kabul, decided to halt the bloodshed and try to enter into negotiations with the rebels.

I am holding one of the letters delivered to the leaders of the Jardan extremists. "Respecting the traditions of your venerable people, we urge you to respond to our proposal: Open the road to Khowst for a column with peaceful freight..." The terms proposed in the letter made it possible to conclude the matter with an agreement, as prescribed by the forefathers' customs and by the laws of Pushtun honor. The Jardans were offered payment for the transport of freight along the road. If you do not agree—move the freight using your own transport: We will pay. If you do not attack, we will not shoot. The state will provide the tribe with medical aid and will distribute rice and wheat in the villages....

"However, it was more advantageous to the gang leaders to set the Jardans against the authorities," Anwar, secretary of the PDPA committee in Paktia Province, told me. "And they had overestimated their own strength. They took advantage of the truce to mobilize 'volunteers' in the Pakistani refugee camps and gave everyone 'traveling expenses' of 15,000 Afghanis...."

"As regards money, the instigators from Peshawar have no lack of it," Major General Imamuddin, one of the leaders of the Afghan Army's combat operations, said. "The leaders of the bloc of seven counterrevolutionary organizations ensconced in Pakistan have allocated 2.5 million Afghanis as gifts to Jardan extremists. They have helped them by gathering toward Khowst their gangs from various Afghan provinces—in all, no less than 4,500 armed men. There are data attesting that 85 advisers from the United States, France, and certain other countries are operating in the rebel groupings. If a radio intercept is to be believed, two of them have been killed during the fighting.

"When the truce expired, the Afghan and Soviet subunits began everything practically over again," Gen Imamuddin said. "They took every height by force. The dushmans hit the attackers with rocket shells. Our artillery and aircraft operated efficiently. The gangs' morale began to fall after the combined bombing and strafing attacks. Approximately 2,000 rebels have been killed to date. Our losses are minimal...."

In the Soviet control and observation post, the officers D. Turlays and V. Prutskov showed me a list of the arms captured and destroyed. The figures eloquently characterize the intensity and scale of the struggle. Some 14,900 rocket shells have been destroyed and 12,500 captured. Some 565,000 machine gun rounds, 270,000 rounds for mountain antiaircraft guns, and more than 2 million rounds for small arms have been taken from dushman dumps in the mountains. Most of the arms and ammunition were made in Western countries.

Meanwhile, the strip dividing the subunits approaching from Gardeyz and Khowst is melting away. Advancing along the route in an armored vehicle, I can see servicemen of Afghan engineer units clearing away obstacles. The battalion of Senior Captain Aziz Zulkhak is restoring the road near the village of Shavak.

"We have been on the route for 10 days. Together with Soviet sappers we are clearing it of mines. We have restored many obstacles: The dushmans blew up the roadbed as they withdrew."

Together with Colonel T. Gol, the reconstruction work is being directed by N. Goncharuk, Soviet adviser to the Afghan engineer troops.

"We are in a hurry to get the highway working again," Nikolay Aleksandrovich said. "Sometimes I myself have to pick up a shovel to encourage the tired soldiers. The route will be ready by the time the freight convoy leaves Gardeyz. The road had been cleared by 1500 on 29 December...."

At 0600 the next day Gardeyz was awakened by the roar of dozens of motors. Colonel Aziz Rahman drove out of the city the first convoy of freight for the population of Khowst—more than 1,000 tonnes. The MAZ trucks were carrying salt, sugar, meat, clothes, seeds, fertilizers, cement, fuel....

Snow fell on the pass that morning. It became dangerous to negotiate the hairpin bends. Nevertheless, the leading trucks entered Khowst at 1600. The city folk rejoiced. Some 23,000 tonnes of freight will be delivered from Gardeyz over subsequent days.

Combat operations are continuing in the rebel groupings' base areas. Soviet and Afghan subunits are seeking and destroying weapons dumps.

Afghan Opposition Sponsors Terrorist Group

PM050947 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5

[Veniamin Shurygin "Viewpoint" article: "Who Is Indulging the Terrorists"]

[Text] The leaders of the "Rabat-i al-Alam-i Islam" organization, which was recently created in Pakistan and which certain members of the Pakistani parliament have joined, stated at a press conference in Islamabad their intention to carry out actions against Soviet representatives throughout the world. They announced the formation of a so-called "World Jihad Council" which will directly engage in terrorist activity.

How and why has such a deplorable organization that openly advocates terrorism emerged? The point is that the more clearly the outlines of a political settlement in Afghanistan emerge, the more furiously it is opposed by those who during the undeclared war have become accustomed to building their prosperity on it, those who have endeavored to make political and also financial capital out of the Afghan people's sufferings. Today they are literally enraged by any success in the Afghan leadership's course of national reconciliation, which is meeting with the support of Afghans tired of the fratricidal war, including those beyond the borders of their motherland.

As shown by Republic of Afghanistan President Najibullah's recent visit to India, Vietnam, and Cambodia, the Afghan Government's course of restoring peace in the country is enjoying increasing support from the world public. The Soviet Union's political decision to withdraw its limited contingent of troops from Afghanistan within strictly stipulated deadlines if the United States and its Western allies pledge for their part to cease arms deliveries to antigovernment forces and not to carry out other interference in the Republic of Afghanistan's affairs has also evoked a positive reaction in the world. Thus it is becoming increasingly obvious that, given

goodwill from the interested parties and taking into consideration existing realities, there is the possibility of an immediate political settlement of the problems around Afghanistan.

However, despite this, or maybe because of this, a frenzied campaign has recently been unleashed in the capitals of a number of Western countries around the "Afghan problem." It has assumed an unbridled nature. Matters are going as far as hooligan onslaughts and provocative actions against Soviet diplomatic and other missions. Certain high-ranking statesmen have also "contributed" to the anti-Soviet propaganda campaign. By promising generous aid the West is spurring on the extremist leaders of the counterrevolution, who will countenance nothing but the capitulation of the Afghan Government and their "victorious entry into Kabul on a white charger."

The creation of "Rabat-i al-Alam-i Islam" was also a recurrence of the anti-Soviet campaign by the opponents of a political settlement in Afghanistan. Everyone must be aware of the serious danger which its activity presents. The world community at its highest forum—the United Nations—has resolutely condemned terrorism. Those who indulge it take grave responsibility upon themselves.

Armacost Talks With Sattar in Pakistan

LD042000 Moscow TASS in English 1941 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Islamabad January 4 TASS—Michael Armacost, U.S.undersecretary of state for political affairs, has held talks here with Abdul Sattar, Pakistani minister of foreign affairs.

Pakistani television reports that regional security matters and, in particular, the situation in Afghanistan were in the focus of attention.

Mr Armacost and Mr Sattar will hold another round of consultations tomorrow.

The U.S. undersecretary of state arrived in Pakistan today for a three-day visit to discuss the Afghanistan situation issue with Pakistani leaders. He is to meet with President Ziaul Haq and Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo.

Local newspapers report that Mr Armacost is also to visit Peshawar where he will meet with leaders of Afghan counter-revolutionary groups.

To Meet Afghan 'Bandit Leaders'

LD041403 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Michael Armacost has arrived in the Pakistani capital where, THE WASHINGTON POST presumes, he will have a series of meetings with Afghan bandit leaders. Here is a Mayak commentary; at the microphone is Nikolay Agayants.

[Agayants] The trip to Pakistan by the high-ranking U.S. official is no accident, and is extremely indicative. To judge by all events, the Washington administration is trying again to step up the activities of the Afghan counterrevolutionaries, and thereby hamper the implementation of the policy of national reconciliation proposed by Kabul. The other day Ronald Reagan declared point-blank that the United States would continue to provide military and political aid to the Afghan rebels and would possibly increase it. The U.S. President called upon the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan as rapidly as possible.

One should say here, unfortunately, that we are once again confronted with an example of the old, obsolete way of thinking. At the Soviet-U.S. talks in Washington, the U.S. side was given a clear and precise exposition of our position on this problem. A political decision on the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops has been taken. At the press conference held immediately after the summit meeting Mikhail Sergeyevich said—I quote—the schedule for starting withdrawal of troops should coincide with the start of ceasing aid in weapons and finances to the bandits.

I shall also remind you that Najibullah, the president of the Republic of Afghanistan, explained in his speech at the concluding session of the Grand Assembly that even a 12-month schedule for withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghan territory could be substantially reduced, in the event that in response to Kabul's decision to prolong the cease-fire for another 6 months the leaders of the so-called Alliance of Seven also assume the obligation to cease fire and give a guarantee not to renew military action in the future. Thus, if the representatives of the opposition strictly observe the conditions for peace, Soviet troops would leave the Republic of Afghanistan, in accordance with the agreed schedule and within the shortest possible periods of time.

These proposals seem to me personally to be profoundly well-thought-out, well-considered, and constructive. The normalization of the situation in and around Afghanistan is by no means a myth—it is all wholly possible, if the goodwill for this exists. However, the opponents of the policy of national reconciliation, and those who back the bandits, clearly lack such goodwill, alas! The trip to Pakistan by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Michael Armacost is evidence of this.

Indian Media Report U.S.-Pakistani Arms Deal

LD041457 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] New Delhi January 4 TASS—TASS Correspondent Mikhail Kapustin reports:

A new comprehensive U.S.-Pakistani military and economic deal will bring about an unprecedented buildup of Pakistan's land, naval and air forces. This is the main

message of all Indian mass media reports commenting on the details of the six-year American-Pakistani agreement on military and economic aid worth a total of more than four billion dollars.

According to PTI news agency's Washington correspondent, the Ziaul Haq regime will receive more than ten latest F-16 fighter-bombers in addition to the 38 planes already attached to the Pakistani Air Force.

The U.S. armaments to be supplied to Pakistan include the latest U.S. M-1 tanks, P-3 "Orion" naval reconnaissance planes, anti-aircraft ship systems, self-propelled howitzers, various types of missiles and radars.

Growing military expenditures have pushed Pakistan into a deep economic crisis. Inflation is predicted to reach 15 percent in the first months of 1988, while the balance of payment deficit for the past three years stands at 56 billion rupees, PTI reported.

On the other hand, Pakistan pays by parts of its territory for American financial aid. Indian newspapers report that Pentagon was given complete control over the Makran coast in Baluchistan Province where it's setting up a network of military bases and installations which can be used in emergency situations. To please Washington, Pakistan is taking an active part in the armed interference in Afghanistan.

The Ziaul Haq government's course towards strengthening military contacts with the United States contradicts the interests of the Pakistani people and poses a threat to peace and security in South-West and South Asia, the newspaper of Indian Communists JANASHAKTI reports.

Nuclear-Powered Submarine Leased to India
PM051535 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Untitled "TASS Announcement"]

[Text] By prior arrangement, a Soviet submarine with a nuclear power unit has been leased to the Republic of India for training purposes so that the Indian Navy can acquire experience of operating vessels of this kind.

There are no nuclear weapons or any mockups of nuclear weapons on board the submarine.

Moscow Questions Purpose of Carlucci's Tour
LD050025 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 4 Jan 88

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Vyacheslav Lavrentyev]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci arrived in Kuwait today. He began his week-long tour around Arab states in the Persian Gulf zone with a visit to this country. In the course of the trip, as the news agency UPI reports, the Pentagon boss also intends to pay a visit to U.S. Navy ships concentrated in the Gulf. The U.S. Defense Department, the news agency notes, refused to throw light on the aims of Carlucci's present travels. It was merely announced that he would conduct talks with high-ranking representatives of the governments of Kuwait, Bahrain, Amman, Saudi Arabia. Thus the aims of the visit of the U.S. secretary of defense to the region of the Persian Gulf have not been announced officially. Therefore I shall ask my colleague, Igor Surguchev, to share his thoughts on this score:

[Surguchev] I think that in itself a visit by the Pentagon boss to this explosive region, whose situation is giving rise to alarm among the world public, and where large-scale naval forces of the United States and its NATO allies are concentrated, has substantial grounds to it. The main thing, however, is what aims is it serving; that is, is the United States endeavoring to relieve the tension in the Persian Gulf, or does it intend to preserve and increase it, pursuing the militarist course that has a patently anti-Iranian direction as before?

As yet it would not appear that Washington is prepared to make constructive adjustments to its policies in this region and with regard to the problem of a peaceful settlement to the Iran-Iraq war. As is known the United States brought an armada of its warships into the Persian Gulf on the pretext of ensuring the safety of international shipping, primarily the escorting of Kuwaiti oil tankers. Other NATO countries also followed this example, and this was done despite a resolute protest from Iran and a number of Arab countries bordering on the Gulf zone, which viewed the (?Western) military presence there as a threat to their security. They know about this full well in the Western capitals, but there they prefer to refer in justifying their actions to certain Arab states in the Persian Gulf who allegedly have a stake in the patrolling of Gulf waters by the naval forces of Western countries.

It is natural to ask why it is that Washington, London and Paris are taking into greater account the position of some states and [word indistinct] the position of others. Evidently the point is that the NATO states want very much to secure their military presence in a strategically important region located beyond the bounds of NATO's sphere of activity. This striving is disguised by the need to ensure the safety of international shipping in the Persian Gulf enveloped in the Iran-Iraq conflict. Maybe there is such a need, but this task can be resolved another way that is acceptable to all countries in the region and the international community as a whole. I have in mind the Soviet Union's proposal for the setting up of a neutral international squadron under the UN flag. Vessels from the West could form part of it. However the West is showing no interest (?in this enterprise). Its implementation would not only ensure the safety in the (Persian?) Gulf, but could also help facilitate a cease-fire between Iran and Iraq (in accordance?) with Security Council Resolution 598. It is true that recently the U.S.

Administration announced its willingness to look at the Soviet initiative. (This is pleasing?) but words are worth little, specific actions are needed on the part of [words indistinct].

As far as one can judge Arab states in the Gulf zone do not object to [words indistinct]. Therefore one would hope that the opinions of their governments on this important matter will be brought to Carlucci's attention and most importantly (brought to?) Washington's attention. Then the results of the visit by the Pentagon boss to the Persian Gulf region could turn out to be positive in the context of lessening tension there. Because a transfer by the United States and other Western states from studying the Soviet proposal to supporting it meets the achievement [word indistinct]. If it is the task of Carlucci's mission only to affirm the immutability of the U.S.-NATO military presence in the region (?no one will be) expecting anything positive from it in the sense of normalizing the situation in the Persian Gulf and bringing the end to the Iran-Iraq conflict closer.

Further on K. Brutents Middle East Trip

Meets With Mubarak

LD041829 Moscow TASS in English 1708 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Cairo January 4 TASS—Karen Brutents, special envoy of the Soviet leadership, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy head of the International Department of the Central Committee, was received by Egyptian President Husni Mubarak today.

The envoy of the Soviet leadership informed the head of the Egyptian state of the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington and of the Soviet evaluation of the treaty concluded there on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and of prospects for further headway in the process of elimination of nuclear arms.

Topical issues and, first of all, those concerning the situation in the Middle East and in the Persian Gulf area were also touched upon.

Having described the treaty signed in Washington as very important Mr Mubarak spoke highly of Soviet foreign policy.

The purposeful and consistent actions of the Soviet leadership and the Soviet Union's constructive peace initiatives, he emphasized, enjoy growing recognition of the world public.

The Egyptian president welcomed the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, and voiced hope that its development would lead to new accords in the interests of reducing the nuclear danger.

During the conversation the two sides voiced a common opinion about the need to settle the Middle East problem, of which the Palestinian issue is the core, as soon as possible, and to achieve lasting peace in the region on that basis. It is also an urgent task to secure an end ot the Iran-Iraq armed conflict and to move on to a political settlement of the existing contentious issues.

President Mubarak gave a positive appraisal of the present state of Soviet-Egyptian relations, and declared for their further development.

Comments on Gulf, Afghanistan

LD051129 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1020 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Cairo, 5 January (TASS)—Addressing a press conference which took place here for Egyptian journalists, Karen Brutents, special representative of the Soviet leadership, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, noted that the similarity in positions of the USSR and Egypt on many topical problems of the present day and also their mutual desire for the further development of relations between the two countries had been confirmed during his meeting with President Husni Mubarak of the Arab Republic of Egypt and during his conversations with other Egyptian leaders. He said that he had informed the statesmen and politicians of the Arab Republic of Egypt about the Soviet assessment of the results of the Washington meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and R. Reagan, President of the United States, and primarily of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles that was signed there. He stressed the resolve of the USSR to continue efforts aimed at the conclusion of new agreements in the field of nuclear disarmament. Questions connected with the restructuring that is taking place in the USSR, with the situation in the Middle East and in the Persian Gulf region, and with the state of Soviet-Egyptian relations and the prospects for their development were also discussed during the meetings in Cairo.

Replying to correspondents' questions K.N. Brutents stressed that the Soviet Union is actively seeking the convocation of an international conference on a settlement in the Middle East, and considers it necessary for preparations for such a forum to be placed immediately onto a practical track. The USSR, for its part, has made a considerable contribution to this process, having persuaded many states to support the idea of holding a conference.

Referring to the situation in the Persian Gulf, K.N. Brutents pointed out that in the view of the USSR the cessation of the armed Iran-Iraq conflict and going over to a political solution of the disputed issues are an urgent necessity. That is the Soviet Union's principled, firm position on the problem. The USSR is in favor of that

task being solved within the framework of the UN General secretary's efforts with obligatory participation of both hostile sides. Every possibility provided for by UN Security Council Resolution 598 should be fully made use of in the course of the political settlement. The Soviet Union is against unilateral actions by any state in this volatile situation, fraught with unexpected complications. An example of such dangerous unilateral actions was the introduction of the U.S. Navy into the Persian Gulf. As far as the question of the introduction of sanctions against the side not observing the decision of the Security Council, including Resolution 598, is concerned, he noted that an embargo in respect of Iran is supported precisely by those who themselves supply it with weapons, while accusing the Soviet Union, which has not supplied any weapons to Iran at all.

Replying to a question about the situation surrounding Afghanistan, K.N. Brutents emphasized that the Soviet Union, just like most of the states in the world, is in favor of an indpeendent, nonaligned Afghanistan, where the Afghan people themselves will decide their fate. The USSR has declared its readiness to withdraw the limited contingent of its forces from Afghanistan and, together with the government of that country, has even proposed a timetable for the withdrawal of the troops over 12 months or even over a shorter period on the single condition that armed interference in Afghanistan's affairs from outside be ceased. The withdrawal of Soviet troops closely coordinated with the cessation of external interference in Afghanistan, emphasized the Soviet representative, should become a component of the general process of resolving the situation surrounding that state.

Joint Trade Agreement Signed With Egypt

PM041625 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent D. Velikiy dispatch: "Agreement on Commodity Turnover"]

[Text] Cairo—The signing of an agreement on commodity turnover between the USSR and Egypt for 1988-1990 has taken place in the Egyptian capital. It is the first long-term interstate document signed by the two countries in the last 10 years.

At the signing the sides pointed out that new forms of cooperation in trade and economic spheres can be introduced: industrial cooperation, the construction of enterprises on a barter basis, and the creation of joint enterprises both in the USSR and also on Egypt's territory. It is proposed that by the end of 1990 commodity turnover between the Soviet Union and Egypt will increase by almost 50%.

'Adil al-Jarhi, Egyptian first deputy minister of the economy and foreign trade, who participated in the signing on the Egyptian side, expressed the conviction that the agreement will mark a new stage in the development of trade relations between Egypt and the USSR during which a substantial expansion in commodity turnover will take place. 'Adil al-Jarhi pointed out that within the framework of the agreement it is proposed that Egyptian goods participate in specialized exhibitions, which will make it possible to expand the range of them in commodity turnover with the Soviet side.

Within the framework of the agreement the Soviet Union will supply Egypt with machines, equipment, coal charges, many types of timber output, and foodstuffs; Egypt will supply the USSR with cotton, perfumery, aromatic essences, many types of outerwear, and rugs.

Soviet Muslims Send Support Message to 'Arafat

LD260007 Moscow TASS in English 2006 GMT 25 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 25 (TASS)—Israeli invaders' actions in the occupied Arab territories run against the moral norms of any religion, not only of Islam, said the head of the Muslim [word indistinct] for Transcaucasia.

Shaykh al-Allashukur Pashayev was member of the delegation which today handed a message from the Soviet public to Sa'id Abu 'Imarah, charge d'affaires of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The message was addressed to Yasir 'Arafat, PLO chairman.

Speaking at a ceremony in the PLO representative office, the religious figure said that Muslims residing in the USSR have always been on the side of the Arab people of Palestine and their just cause.

"We are ready to give our Arab brothers not only moral, but also material support in their holy struggle for their rights," he said.

Allashukur Pashayev noted that the "Muslims in the Struggle for Peace" international Islamic conference that took place in Baku in October 1986, had unanimously approved documents calling for immediate liberation of territories seized by Israel. The conference had also established a standing commission to render assistance to the Palestinian people.

The speaker suggested holding a day of Palestine among Transcaucasia's Muslims and expressed solidarity on their behalf with all Palestinians who had fallen victim to Israeli terror.

Palestinian Resistance Jubilee Celebrated

PM041651 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Lashkul dispatch: "Near East: On the Front Line"]

[Text] Beirut—The 23d anniversary of the military operation carried out by Fatah—the leading PLO organization—in the Tiberias Lake region fell on 1 January. It signaled the organization of armed struggle against Israel and initiated the activity of the Palestinian resistance movement.

The Palestinian resistance movement, which embraced broad sections of the Arab population, led to the development of partisan struggle in all territories occupied by Tel Aviv. Now the Palestinian resistance movement has become an important political and social factor in the development of events in the Near East. Its military detachments played a primary role in repulsing Israeli aggression in Lebanon in 1982. The Palestinian resistance movement is the recognized leader of the national liberation struggle to create an independent state.

Mass anti-Israeli demonstrations devoted to the Palestinian resistance movement's 23d anniversary took place on the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip. Their participants went out onto the streets of Ramallah, Nabulus, and other cities with slogans in support of the PLO, which is at the head of the Palestinian resistance movement.

AAPSO Official Condemns 'Israeli Atrocities'

LD041419 Moscow TASS in English 1323 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—"Soviet people express profound indignation at atrocities committed by the Israeli invaders against the Palestinian population in the Gaza Strip, the Jordan West Bank and East Jerusalem," said today Vasiliy Solodovnikov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and deputy chairman of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. He spoke here at a press conference of representatives of the Soviet public.

"Israel's actions are a blatant violation of the rules and principles of international law formalized in the U.N. charter and other documents," pointed out V. Solodovnikov. "Events in the Gaza Strip and the Jordan West Bank have convincingly shown once again the need for the earliest and just settlement of the Palestinian problem, and the way to this settlement lies through an international Middle East conference with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

"Israel would not dare to conduct its expansionist policy against Arab peoples without military, economic, political and moral support from the USA and other Western countries. It is necessary to take resolute steps to make Tel Aviv subordinate to the will of the majority of mankind worried over the destiny of peace in the Middle East and all over the world. The Soviet public proposes that an international conference be held to examine thoroughly Israel's crimes on the occupied Arab territories. In our opinion, such a forum could be held under the U.N. aegis. To express support for the Palestinian population and to prepare such a conference, it would be expedient to send a delegation to the occupied territories. It would represent various non-government organizations from all the continents.

"We call on the international public and all who stand out in defence of human rights to raise their voice of condemnation and protest against the genocide policy of the Israeli ruling quarters against the Arab people of Palestine," pointed out V. Solodovnikov.

CIA Helped Israel Kidnap Nuclear Technician

LD020719 Moscow TASS in English 0706 GMT 2 Jan 88

[Text] London January 2 TASS—The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) rendered assistance to Israel's secret services in arranging the kidnapping of Mordechai Vanunu, a technician of the Israeli nuclear complex at Dimona, who had described in the London newspaper OBSERVER Tel Aviv's supersecret program for the development of nuclear weapons.

This was reported today by the Tel Aviv correspondent of the British newspaper THE DAILY TELEGRAPH with reference to testimony given by U.S. citizen Judy Zimmet. She spoke on Friday at the current closed-door trial of Vanunu in Israel. Vanunu is charged with high treason and espionage.

Vanunu was kidnapped in London by agents of the Israeli secret service Mossad in 1986.

Correction to Khowst Fighting Concludes

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Fighting Ends, Convoy Arrives," published in the 4 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 25:

page 25, column one, paragraph two, sentence three: ...of the Afghan people, a member of the leadership of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, an anti-Afghan organization. (changing "(Khalistan Islamic Party)" to "Islamic Party of Afghanistan")

Sub-Saharan Africa

Libya-Burkina Faso Communique Reported

LD042204 Moscow TASS in English 2147 GMT 4 Jan 87

[Text] Tripoli January 4 TASS—Libya and Burkina Faso have stated their firm determination to carry on the struggle against imperialism in a communique upon the results of a friendly working visit to Libya of Blaise Compaore, chairman of the Popular Front, head of state and Government of Burkina Faso.

Libya and Burkina Faso considered ways to consolidate the relations between the two countries, the communique says. The sides expressed anxiety over persisting tension in several areas of Africa and stated support for the peace efforts of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) aimed at settling the Chadian problem with account of the will of that continent's peoples and without foreign interference and pressure.

They denounced the racist South African regime, the unlawful occupation of Namibia and part of Angolan territory, reiterated support for the national liberation movements in the south of Africa, drew attention to the need to step up the struggle to abolish racial discrimination and achieve independence for Namibia on the basis of the fulfillment of U.N. Security Council Resolution 435.

Having examined the economic situation in Africa, Libya and Burkina Faso expressed concern about African countries' surging foreign debt. The solution to this problem lies in the establishment of a new economic order, they said.

The sides strongly condemned Zionists' terror and reprisals against the residents of the occupied Arab territories and stated their unreserved support of the Palestinian people's lawful rights.

Libya and Burkina Faso called upon all peace-minded forces of the world to support the uprising of the Palestinian people and lay bare the Zionists' crimes in the occupied Arab lands. They expressed deep concern over the continued war between Iran and Iraq.

Kulik Analyzes Nigerian Debt Situation

LD041331 Moscow TASS in English 1229 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 4 (TASS)—TASS Political News Analyst Sergey Kulik writes:

Africa has entered 1988 with an enormous foreign debt estimated at 2300 billion dollars. The mechanism of the formation of such 'astronomical' figures is well known. Developing countries that experienced financial difficulties borrowed money, but they could not pay their debts in time because of even greater difficulties. Meanwhile, interest rates grew from one year to the next, exchange rates were changed to the disadvantage of the borrowers, interest was added to the loans, and as a result of all that foreign debts grew tremendously. The servicing of the debt that consumes up to 60 percent of export currency revenues in some countries became one of the main obstacles on the way of Africa's development.

However, it is getting more and more obvious that there were some more factors that contributed to the formation of this enormous debt. An ever greater part of Africa's foreign debt seems to be fictitious.

Take Nigeria, for instance, where an investigation conducted in the past two or three years by special tribunals and commissions exposed numerous cases of financial machinations and forgery on the part of representatives of Western business circles who engaged in it with the connivance of the previous government. The overstating of the cost of contract operations, illegal export of currency, as well as outright embezzlement in which they took part cost Nigeria hundreds of millions or even perhaps billions of dollars, which exceeds by far the volume of its foreign debt.

Thus, according to preliminary estimates, illegal deals closed by the Johnson Mathey bankers of Britain cost Nigeria 6.2 billion dollars. The cost of contracts for the construction of various projects which were never realized and documents for which 'disappeared' later runs into tens and hundreds of millions of dollars. The Cross Oceans firm of Britain signed a contract for the construction of a carpet-making factory in Anambra State. With the assistance of the Samuel Montagu Bank it spent some 3 million pounds on bribes and appropriated 7.4 million for the work which was fulfilled only on paper. Canadian Strosert Management Ltd claimed that Nigeria owed it 11 million dollars for the work in which, according to the Nigerian newspaper NATIONAL CONCORD, it had never taken part. U.S. Glober Company also participated actively in this plunder. It illegally exported from Lagos 131 million dollars. The Snem Progetti firm of Italy delivered to Nigeria tens of millions of dollars worth of poor-quality equipment for an oil refinery in Bendel state. As a result of it, the refinery often gets out of order and pollutes the atmosphere with poisonous gases. Lieutenant-Colonel Abubakr Umar, governor of Kaduna state, said that transnational corporations had turned Nigeria into a dust-heap of obsolete equipment. A lot of money was spent on purchasing it, which continually increased Nigeria's foreign debt.

This is just a top of the iceberg of financial machinations to which transnational corportations and Western banks resort. However, the figures quoted above are enough to understand that the figure of 24 billion dollars, which, according to Western creditors, is the volume of Nigeria's foreign debt, is very much overstated. The Nigerian Ministry of Finance values the country's foreign debt at 18.5 billion dollars, of which a direct guaranteed debt of the Nigerian Government amounts only to 11.7 billion dollars.

These calculations look rather convincing. Foreign debts of other African countries should also be examined in this way.

Drought Aid To Be Sent to Ethiopia

PM041527 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Aid for Ethiopia's Population"]

[Text] The Executive Committee of the Union of Societies of the Red Cross and Red Crescent of the USSR and the Soviet Peace Foundation Board, guided by the principles of international solidarity and humanitarianism, have decided to provide free aid to the drought-stricken population of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

Medical supplies, food concentrates, and baby foods will be dispatched to Ethiopia in the immediate future.

East Europe

Chnoupek on Further Disarmament Prospects

PM041205 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Dec 87 Second Edition p 4

[Article by CSSR Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek: "What Next?"]

[Text] Prague—People in Czechoslovakia were waiting with bated breath for the day on which the treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons was to be signed in Washington. Any sensible person will understand their state of mind. When expectation became reality, we felt relief.

A breakthrough? A milestone? An epoch-making event? In vain we tried to find the right word. A public opinion poll carried out in Czechoslovakia provided one of the answers: before and after. Quite! World War II marked a watershed in our lives, as it were. We say—before the war, and after the war—don't we? This too is how many people in the Soviet Union often divide their lives. These are major landmarks in people's destinies. And the same is now true of the treaty!

Up to now the world has been building up arms. Henceforth it is to engage in disarmament. This is the tenor of the first treaty in which common sense rather than arms triumphed. It delivered us from the threat of 72 U.S. nuclear warheads on the Pershing-1A missiles sited in the FRG in the immediate vicinity of Czechoslovakia and targeted on our cities. We were forced to counter this threat. And now Czechoslovakia is one of the nine countries from whose territory missiles with nuclear charges will be removed.

The spontaneous response evoked by the treaty was accurately reflected in the stance of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the Czechoslovak Government. In a joint document they declared: The signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles during the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President R. Reagan is the first significant step toward a world without nuclear weapons. The Czechoslovak people see this historic step as a victory for common sense and political responsibility. We express our appreciation and gratitude to the CPSU, the Soviet Government, and M.S. Gorbachev personally for their initiative, selflessness, courage, and consistency in translating the new thinking in international relations into reality. We express the conviction that the elimination of the two classes of nuclear weapons will considerably contribute to the reduction of tension in Europe, the strengthening of the European states' security, the deepening of trust, and the development of all-around mutual cooperation.

What next? Where do we go from here?

It is necessary, above all, to make use of the experience obtained during the drafting of the treaty—political, moral, psychological, and, of course, professional experience. The work on the treaty has shown that introducing the new thinking in the sphere of international relations, including nuclear disarmament, can produce effective results. Did not, until quite recently, skeptics claim that the achievement of specific results in this sphere is nothing but an illusion? And now here are the first results. The treaty that has been concluded offers the world a unique chance to rid itself of the burden of militarism and the threat of nuclear war.

It is necessary to make the most of the capital that has been accumulated during the work on the treaty and after its signing. After all, there is no prominent politician in the world who today has not expressed his attitude to this step. They welcome it as a breakthrough toward strengthening mutual confidence, as a deciphered code which makes it possible to open the gate of disarmament.

World public opinion provides great scope for our peace offensive. Was it not world public opinion which a few years ago still claimed: "Agreement has been reached in Helsinki, an excellent document has been signed, but as regards arms, nothing has changed." We know today that the ideas expressed by M.S. Gorbachev during his meetings with U.S. politicians, businessmen, scientists, and cultural figures have made an important impression not only on the U.S. public but, I would say, on the whole world.

A new, correct picture of socialism has begun to take shape in people's minds. The entire broad spectrum of world public opinion is beginning to treat the humanist ideals of socialism, its humane essence, with respect. People are beginning to see in a different light our sincere efforts to create a world without weapons which would provide peoples with equal opportunities for all-around development. This vast political capital must be exploited in our peace offensive.

In other words, the world is beginning to understand what the Soviet Communists had in mind when they adopted their action program at the 27th CPSU Congress, defining the party's strategic course in domestic and foreign policy. A program which contains not only the principles of the all-around humanist restructuring of Soviet society, which place man and his ideals and interests first, but also a program which leads to a search for a new model of socialist society which would correspond to the modern age with its revolutionary changes in technology, science, and culture. Together with the democratization of social life and the radical economic reform, a new foreign policy strategy is being implemented which proceeds from the realities of the nuclear and space age.

world has become so interconnected and interdeident that it is no longer possible to ensure the rity and development of one country in isolation, much less so at the expense of other countries. As M. s, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committ- stated at the December plenum, it is necessary for kind to stop arming itself and to embark on disarnent in all types of weapons, to switch from confron- on to the development of long-term and stable ties in economy, science, technology, and culture, and to elop broad cooperation based on equal rights and ual advantage and devoid of discrimination in any e or form.

prospects of the new stage of peaceful coexistence ch open up before us encourage us to proceed along chosen path. In particular, it is necessary to expand accelerate the process of disarmament. We believe in the new year another key problem will be ed—the signing of the treaty on 50% cuts in strategic ear weapons while strictly observing the ABM ty and maintaining strategic stability. We hope that eaty on a general and complete nuclear test ban will concluded. The same applies to a treaty on the ination of chemical weapons. These significant steps strengthen the much needed mutual confidence and serve as a stimulus for further disarmament talks.

Washington agreement has opened a new stage in improvement of the general atmosphere in the ngthening of security in the European continent. The ples of Czechoslovakia, living in the very heart of ope, are highly sensitive to the situation in this plex nerve center of the world organism. It is our therefore that the cuts in armed forces and armats should begin precisely here in central Europe. s could take the form of a corridor with the restric- primarily of both sides' offensive arms. Here, along line of direct contact between the Warsaw Pact and TO, it is necessary to make full use of the experience ast talks and of the existing mechanism of the Vienna s.

s known, together with the GDR we have proposed a corridor free from nuclear and chemical weapons reated in central Europe. I am convinced that this ld reduce the risk of a military confrontation, ngthen mutual confidence and security, and bring ope nearer to the practical elimination of nuclear and mical weapons.

have thus created qualitatively new conditions for talks on the reduction of armed forces and convental arms from the Atlantic to the Urals. It is therefore essary to complete as swiftly as possible work on the ting of the mandate for these talks. We are prepared lace our cards openly and honestly on the table and ark on the solution of the most complex questions, uding different levels of armaments, as early as the ing year. A Europe which has been devastated by s so many times can and must become an example of peaceful coexistence. I believe that the time has come to open consultations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on questions concerning their military doctrines, to discuss them jointly and establish the principle of mutual sufficiency. At present the very concept of "a state's security" and the position of the armed forces are changing. Military diplomacy is opening up new opportunities. Military experts are becoming diplomats and very often act as indispensable participants in disarmament forums.

A world without weapons where the security of all is the guarantee of the security of each one of them can be built only on the basis of equitable partnership and with the participation of all members of the world community. We see a way out of the quest for solutions to cardinal problems of the present time in the socialist countries' joint proposal for creating a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

At the same time I have no illusions. The path to a world without weapons is long and difficult. More than one tightly sealed door will have to be opened, more than one obstacle will have to be overcome. This is being signaled right now, by voices which have rung out in the West immediately after the signing of the treaty and which are calling increasingly loudly for arms upgrading and the filling of the "nuclear vacuum" which is allegedly forming in Europe. In certain NATO states the opponents of disarmament are growing more active. These are dangerous trends. They could put in jeopardy the positive change in the development of international relations which is beginning to emerge. Therefore the success achieved in Washington is not final. However, at the same time the days have gone forever when the cackling of geese could save the Roman capitol because the starting point for the disarmament process is provided by r ism and cooperation.

This has been fully confirmed by the recent meeting of leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact in Berlin. It set the task of preserving the atmosphere which contributed to the conclusion of the treaty; of constantly putting forward new initiatives; of fighting for world public opinion; of winning over all progressive and realistic forces of the planet for peace; of isolating political and militarist circles which put their narrowly egoistic interests before the interests of the people and all mankind; of proving that the socialist community's peace strategy represents the only acceptable future for our planet; of persuading people that there is no viable alternative to the concept of peaceful coexistence.

In the interests of the democratization and humanization of international relations, we together with the fraternal socialist countries will continue to do our utmost to ensure the realization of the new concept of peaceful coexistence. We believe that positive will, a desire for mutual understanding, and the acquisition of experience will help us to achieve this.

RUDE PRAVO Cited on Jan 1968 CPCZ Plenum

PM041719 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 88
First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "A Lesson of History. RUDE PRAVO on the 20th Anniversary of the CPCZ Central Committee January Plenum"]

[Text] Prague, 4 Jan—The CPCZ Central Committee January 1968 Plenum is an important and at the same time highly contradictory event which, even years afterwards, deserves attention and study. On the one hand, this plenum put forward a positive program for the CSSR's further socialist development. On the other hand, a right-wing opportunist group took shape at that plenum and, as the further development of events showed, this group took cover beneath the slogan of "correcting mistakes" and launched an attack against the Communist Party, the political system of socialism, and the Soviet Union, RUDE PRAVO writes today in a signed article to mark the 20th anniversary of the CPCZ Central Committee January 1968 Plenum.

The development of socialism in the CSSR in the sixties, the CPCZ Central Committee organ goes on, demanded improvement of the methods for implementing the Communist Party's leading role. But the CPCZ leadership headed by A. Novotny failed to cope with the crucial tasks of the day. The mistakes which were piling up led to stagnation in society's development. The proclamation of unrealistic slogans discredited the party in the eyes of the public and undermined its links with the working people and their faith in the policy pursued by it.

The Marxist-Leninist forces within the party were aware of the gravity of the situation which had taken shape and demanded that it be changed. But the CPCZ leadership, in whose ranks a process of differentiation was taking place, was unable to support the healthy trend which had emerged in the party and to transform it into vehicles of socialist progress. The political course was determined primarily by the views of A. Novotny who was first secretary of the party Central Committee at the time. Ultimately, the quests for ways out of the prevailing situation concentrated on his departure from the leading position in the party.

The activity of the Central Committee and its organs were at the focus of attention at the January Plenum. A. Dubcek was elected to the office of first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, which was the result of a compromise reflecting attitudes within the party leadership at the time and the desire for unity in elections.

An assessment of the importance of the CPCZ Central Committee January Plenum, the article goes on to point out, was made in the document "Lessons from the Crisis Development in the CPCZ and Society Following the 13th CPCZ Congress," which was unanimously adopted by the party Central Committee in December 1970. It provides a complete picture of the adverse developments of the period. The fair and time-tested conclusions contained in that document are still topical today.

The "Lessons" unambiguously stressed that "January was necessary." This conclusion cannot be affected by the fact that the results of the CPCZ Central Committee January Plenum were in many respects contradictory, while the leadership which was entrusted with the implementation of the January program was not homogeneous and was politically disunited and weak.

As RUDE PRAVO goes on to point out, it was a particularly grave fact that the January plenum resolution was not used as a basis to elaborate a realistic program which would correspond with the new conditions and would lay down clear goals for further development in the economy, the social sphere, and culture.

A threat to the foundations of socialism gradually emerged and grew. That was the result of the formation of a right-wing revisionist group directly within the party leadership, a group which, beneath demagogical slogans, strove to revise the CPCZ's general line and demolish the socialist society's political structure for the sake of petty bourgeois elemental forces and changes of the CSSR's foreign policy orientation. It thus provided ground for activities by antisocialist forces.

Great responsibility for this development of events is borne by A. Dubcek personally, who initially made unprincipled concessions to the right-wing forces, and who later—owing to his lack of principledness and capitulationist attitudes—became a cover for them.

The right-wing opportunist and antisocialist forces which formed a political bloc differed from each other both in ideology and tactics, the article says. What united them was their common struggle against the Marxist-Leninist party, against socialism and the Soviet Union. This is why this political bloc enjoyed the all-around support of international imperialism which thus found a chance to implement in Czechoslovakia the plans which it had long been hatching in respect of the entire socialist system.

The antisocialist forces in Czechoslovakia, just like the counterrevolution in Hungary in 1956, had in mind, should their plans meet with opposition, to unleash not only moral but also physical terror against the citizens devoted to the cause of socialism. In the summer of 1968 Czechoslovakia found itself on the brink of counterrevolution, with the political forces capable of countering it in a state of fragmentation.

In these circumstances the international assistance rendered to Czechoslovakia by the fraternal states thwarted the plans of the right-wing and counterrevolutionary forces and created temporary conditions which enabled the socialist forces in the Czechoslovak society to restore the structure of the socialist political system, to reinforce

ialist legality and law and order, and to return to the ıntry the tranquillity necessary for the further devel- ment of material and cultural values.

e assess the events of 20 years ago proceeding from alitatively new historical conditions. Our country has velled a considerable distance since the time when the rty and society succeeded in overcoming the crisis. velopment has resulted in new conditions which are nfronting the party and society with new tasks. The ent CPCZ Central Committee December (1987) Ple- m adopted a comprehensive program of transforma- ns.

e basis of these transformations which are spear- aded by the Communist Party is provided by the onomic reform, the implementation of radical changes the management system, the deepening of socialist mocracy, the transition from administrative to eco- mic methods of management, and the elimination of solete practices and stereotyped thinking characteris- of the extensive methods of economic management. the same time we resolutely back everything positive nnected with the events of 20 years ago, with the ogram decisions of the CPCZ Central Committee nuary (1968) Plenum, with the main and most impor- nt lessons of that time which relate to the tasks of the rty in the creative application of Marxist-Leninist eory, a principled response to the demands for devel- ment, constant strengthening of the ties with the ople, and the development of socialism and socialist mocracy.

connection with the events of 20 years ago, our eological and class enemies are trying to claim that erything that the opportunists and revisionists sought Czechslovakia in 1968 is allegedly akin to the restruc- ring which is under way in the Soviet Union and the orts of the CPSU since the 27th CPSU Congress. This a crude and blatant lie. The right-wing forces in echoslovakia sought to undermine socialism, they ught a development which can only be described as unterrevolutionary. The program of restructuring in e Soviet Union, and now also in our country and in ıer socialist states, is a program of the development of cialism and socialist democracy.

ıe attempts of the political failures of 1968 to use the structuring for their own aims, to grow active again litically, and to rehabilitate themselves are a manifes- ion of a crudely distorted concept of restructuring and attempt to link it with the policies which suffered a ıshing defeat 20 years ago.

the recent CPCZ Central Committee December Ple- m M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central ommittee, stated clearly and unequivocally that hopes the revival of these policies have no chance of ccess. In the course of the deepening of the process of the democratization of society and the expansion of self-management, we proceed firmly from socialist principles, the RUDE PRAVO article says.

Hungary's Grosz Interviewed on Economy

PM041443 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 5

["IZVESTIYA Interview" with Karoly Grosz, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, by correspondent B. Rodionov in Budapest: "Strict Commandment of the Time"—date not given; first five paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] As already reported, last week the Hungarian National Assembly held its winter session to discuss draft laws on the structure of government organs, the 1988 state budget, and other topical questions.

According to the Law on the Structure of Government Organs which was adopted, the number of deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers will be reduced from five to two. The abolition of various ministries and departments was coupled with the creation of, in particular, a single Ministry of Trade responsible for both domestic trade and foreign trade policy, a Ministry of Social Security and Health Care, and a Ministry of Environmental Protection and Water Resources. Decisions were also made on various reassignments of cadres. This is the first such significant reorganization of the government's structure in the last 20 years.

Following a prolonged and detailed discussion of the draft budget and of the numerous amendments to it introduced at sessions of standing commissions, the parliament adopted the Law on the State Budget by an overwhelming majority of votes, with 4 votes "against" and 18 abstentions. This law provides for the most rigorous savings under all expenditure headings; the budget deficit must be reduced from 35 billion forints this year to 20.4 billion forints next year. The session's decisions are meant to help the implementation of the government's program of economic stabilization.

IZVESTIYA correspondent B. Rodionov asked Karoly Grosz, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, to reply to IZVESTIYA's questions.

[Rodionov] Comrade Chairman, could you please tell us about the main avenues of the present implementation of the government's program of economic stabilization?

[Grosz] On the basis of the socioeconomic program adopted by the MSZMP Central Committee July Plenum, the Council of Ministers submitted to the republic's National Assembly in September this year a stabilization program for the period through 1990. The government's activity in the last few months has been entirely along the lines laid down by this program. The

implementation of the 1988 budget, which has just been approved by the National Assembly, and of the national economic plan will be of decisive importance for consolidating equilibrium within the national economy so as to render irreversible the process of enhancing the efficiency of social production, the process of adapting to world market demands. This is what constitutes the main goal of the government's stabilization program.

[Rodionov] Let us bring to our readers' notice some of the plan's control figures (as percentages in relation to 1987): National income and industrial output 101%, capital investment in the socialist sector 97-98%, real per capita income 97.5%....

[Grosz] Next year's plan has two mainstays. The first is a sharp reduction in the growth of convertible currency indebtedness and an equally sharp reduction of the budget deficit. It is necessary to ensure that current trade turnover is in the black. While building up exports in convertible currency, we will be unable to manage without also cutting down on imports, without reducing the use of national income within the country. We can no longer tolerate the fact that we consume almost $1 billion more than we produce and sell.

The plan's second mainstay is the accelerated transformation of our economy's structure. The main avenue here is significant growth of profitable exports rather than exports which produce losses for the national economy. Output which can compete in the Western market will also be in demand in the socialist and the domestic markets. Only such output will make it possible to achieve an overall growth of production in the national economy, primarily in industry.

[Rodionov] Some economists voice in the Hungarian press the idea about an inevitable review of the "policy of CEMA-oriented capital investments." What is your opinion on this point?

[Grosz] There is no escaping the fact that we all—the CEMA countries—are lagging behind in many spheres of scientific and technical progress, that we are terribly slow in introducing into production already developed advanced equipment and technology, or that the cooperation mechanism within the CEMA framework is merely creaking along. There is a lack (including in our country, Hungary) of economically substantiated prices, stable high quality of output, and discipline in reciprocal deliveries. All this was said with utmost frankness at the recent 43d sitting of the CEMA session in Moscow.

It is, therefore, not surprising that various opinions should be expressed in the press regarding ways out of the prevailing situation. I personally believe that the way out lies through sharply enhancing the efficiency of CEMA countries' cooperation. It is far from simply a matter of good intentions. The Hungarian side has already submitted proposals for improving the economic instruments of cooperation and expanding the sphere of activities of commodity-money relations. So far some of these proposals have not been backed by the majority of our partners.

[Rodionov] And how about bilateral economic ties with the Soviet Union?

[Grosz] It is widely known that the USSR is Hungary's main economic partner. The key issue for us in the present circumstances is to increase the import of Soviet output, even going, if need be, beyond the framework of earlier agreements. Of course, the structure of commodity turnover should match the needs and potential of both the Hungarian and the Soviet economy. There is a need for new ideas and mutual activeness. I think that Hungarian enterprises are still insufficiently familiar with the Soviet market. We are encouraging the development of direct ties between enterprises in our countries. I am convinced that the implementation of restructuring in the Soviet Union will also have a positive effect on economic cooperation.

[Rodionov] How are Hungary's talks with the EEC progressing?

[Grosz] We would like to sign in the foreseeable future the first large-scale agreement with the EEC, reflecting in it the specific nature of our country's international ties. Such an equal and discrimination-free agreement is all the more urgent for us in that many EEC members are traditional and important economic partners of Hungary. I hope that, following Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's historic visit to the United States, the process of demolition of mistrust between West and East will be accelerated, which will lead to an easing of the senseless embargo on deliveries of advanced technology to socialist countries.

[Rodionov] Let us turn back, if you have no objection, to the government's stabilization program. How does this program combine planning principles and market relations, management from the center and enterprises' independence?

[Grosz] For a country like ours, with a relatively restricted domestic market and broad international ties, there is no other way but the deliberate and systematic development of market relations. Enterprises and cooperatives in our country operate independently within frameworks set by the national economic plan, the economic regulators, and market conditions.

As for planning, it plays a determining role in the elaboration of economic strategy, in environmental protection and development of the infrastructure on a countrywide scale, and in ensuring foreign economic conditions for the functioning of the national economy. When solving major structural problems, planning cannot remain indifferent to the concerns of sectors and enterprises which find themselves in difficulties.

[Rodionov] I would like to hear about this in more detail.

[Grosz] Our objective is to implement structural transformations while maintaining full employment and with a minimal decline in the population's living standards, which appears absolutely inevitable in the present conditions. By implementing a tax reform and sharply cutting state subsidies from 1988, we are striving not to increase the number of bankrupt enterprises but to eliminate loss-making production units at these enterprises.

[Rodionov] IZVESTIYA recently reported the ways the problems of loss-making, job placement, and prevention of unemployment are being solved in the metallurgists' city of Ozd....

[Grosz] Yes, the recently set up state fund for ensuring employment is already being employed in Ozd. This fund finances a year's subsidy for retraining, assists enterprises and councils in providing new jobs, and finances socially useful works. Advantageous terms are offered for early retirement. The government is now elaborating a plan of measures to support workers in major enterprises, since these enterprises will remain the mainstay of our national economy. We have no illusions, we know that there will both bitterness and misunderstanding. But we must also tackle unpopular work for the sake of the future.

[Rodionov] What is your attitude toward the expansion of the parliament's sphere of activity? Will it not curtail the government's powers?

[Grosz] I believe that cooperation with the National Assembly is important in the changed conditions. Some organizational forms for this are already in existence (like deputies' commissions, for example), others are taking shape. By way of an experiment, we have set up a Parliamentary Secretariat of the Council of Ministers to coordinate ties between ministries and the National Assembly and to offer deputies more effective information about the government's activities. We in the government felt the intensification of parliament's monitoring functions while we were drafting the 1988 budget. A special reserve fund was instituted, whose use is under the deputies' control. All this, of course, presents the government with new tasks.

[Rodionov] In a recent interview you spoke out against the "faceless style of leadership." What did you have in mind? Will be manage to retain your style, which has developed over many years in party work, in the office of chairman of the Council of Ministers?

[Grosz] I am convinced that what we need is not uniformity but the abundant flourishing of individuality. Every person, and leaders in particular, must bring in his own knowledge, convictions, and experience instead of following what he believes to be the bosses' views. This is part of political culture. It is not the office he occupies that makes a person clever. He must be able to listen and to persuade. These are the demands of the political approach, and they remain immutable regardless of the position held.

In order to make people believe in our program it is not sufficient to just deliver well-balanced speeches on festive occasions, it is necessary to inform people of everything on a daily basis. This is unusual, even for me personally, it contains an element of risk, but we cannot manage without it. Of course, we still have to overcome the old stereotypes, and some leaders may find themselves unable to cope with the new demands. Hard battles lie ahead of us, but we will emerge victorious through joint efforts.

Ties, Cooperation With Romania Praised

PM041237 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Dec 87 Second Edition p 3

[Lieutenant General N. Smorigo article: "A Historic Watershed in the People's Destiny: 30 December Marks the 40th Anniversary of the Proclamation of a People's Republic in Romania"]

[Excerpts] There are events in the life of peoples which mark the turning of a new page in their history. The liquidation of the monarchy in Romania 40 years ago and the proclamation of a people's republic in the country was such an event for the Romanian people. That was a historical watershed which became possible thanks to Romania's liberation from fascist slavery and the heroic victories by the Soviet Army which routed Hitler's war machine and freed many of Europe's peoples from the yoke of Nazism. [passage omitted]

The Soviet Union gave all-around selfless help and support to the new People's Romania at all stages of its establishment, and was of great assistance in the strengthening of its international positions. The 1948 and 1970 Treaties of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Between the Soviet Union and Romania provided a reliable base for the further deepening and expansion of cooperation between our countries.

In January 1949 Romania became a member of CEMA, and in May 1955 it joined the Warsaw Pact organization. All this helped to expand and deepen Romania's cooperation with the fraternal countries and played an important role in the solution of the tasks of socialist building.

Today the Romanian people, implementing the 13th RCP Congress decisions, are rightfully proud of their successes.

Over the past 4 decades the selfless labor of the Romanian people, relying on the inexhaustible creative potential of socialism and all-around cooperation with the

fraternal socialist countries, has transformed Romania from a backward agricultural country into an industrial-agrarian state with a modern production and scientific and technical potential.

Romania's Army has changed beyond recognition. The qualitative changes which distinguish the armies of all Warsaw Pact states are also typical of the Romanian Army. Over 95% of officers, about 85% of skilled servicemen, and 69% of NCO's are Communists. They march in the vanguard of the competition for high indicators in combat and political training. Romania's Army plays an active part in the solution of national economic tasks.

The RCP National Conference on the eve of the Republic's jubilee noted that, in the 1st 2 years of the current 5-year plan period, commodity output increased more than 10% in industry and almost 20% in agriculture. Substantial growth of labor productivity and national income has been achieved. But a number of indicators remain below the planned estimates and the actual potential of the republic's economy. There are failures in the extraction and power industries, and the capital construction sphere is lagging. At the same time the RCP National Conference resolution emphasized that Romania has all the prerequisites for it to fulfill the plans for the country's socioeconomic development in 1988-1990 and to achieve the goals set by the 13th RCP Congress in the sphere of the intensive development of industry, agriculture, and other economic sectors.

Lasting peace is necessary for the successful solution of the tasks of socialist building. The Soviet Union's peaceful foreign policy initiatives have encountered full support by all fraternal countries. Speaking at the RCP National Conference, N. Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, described the signing of the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles as an event of world-historic importance.

The friendship and close cooperation of the Soviet and Romanian peoples are of great importance for successful advance along the path of progress. This friendship has deep roots and quite a few vivid pages. The Soviet people have always advocated friendship and all-around ties with the fraternal Romanian people.

The conquest of new frontiers in development and the entire contemporary situation persistently demand the buildup of collaboration between fraternal socialist countries. Economic relations are indicative in the variety of ties between the USSR and Romania. The Soviet Union has occupied top position in Romanian trade throughout the postwar period. It accounts for almost one-third of Romania's foreign trade turnover. Commodity turnover between the USSR and Romania increased by a factor of almost 1.5 in the last 2 years alone. Impressive positive changes have occurred recently in the economic cooperation sphere. This cooperation will increase almost 80% in the current 5-year plan period, with 140 national economic projects in Romania offering tangible example of the fruitfulness of Soviet-Romanian cooperation. The export to the USSR of Romanian goods and equipment needed by our national economy has become an established tradition.

Broad new opportunities were offered by last year's signing of the Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation between the USSR and Romania Through the Year 2000.

The May 1987 visit to Romania by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, became an important landmark, giving a fresh fillip to the development of all-around Soviet-Romanian cooperation. Speaking at the Romanian-Soviet friendship rally in Bucharest, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said: "We see in Socialist Romania a state related to the Soviet Union by class, one of our allies and comrades in arms in the common cause. And we are fully resolved to do everything to make our collaboration in all spheres of social life even stronger and more fruitful."

The traditions of combat collaboration between the USSR and Romanian Armed Forces continue to develop for the benefit of peace and socialism within the framework of the Warsaw Pact, whose military doctrine is subordinated to the task of preventing war, whether nuclear or conventional, and is aimed at ensuring the reliable defense of socialist gains and the readiness to deal a crushing blow against any aggressor.

Constant contacts between the fraternal armies' political organs make their contribution to the strengthening and development of these traditions. A broad exchange of experience in party political work within the two allied armies in fulfillment of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 13th RCP Congress decisions took place in November this year during a friendly visit to Romania by a delegation of senior political workers from the Soviet Armed Forces headed by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

Soviet people and the servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces value highly the relations of friendship between our parties, countries, peoples, and armies. Loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, the Soviet Union pursues a line of strengthening relations of alliance with Romania, expanding collaboration in the political, economic, cultural, and other spheres, and developing all-around cooperation within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA frameworks.

The principled course of the 27th CPSU Congress, which is imbued with the ideas of proletarian internationalism, and the talks between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and N. Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president of the Socialist

Republic of Romania, offer new prospects for the strengthening of Soviet-Romanian relations and the deepening of the friendship and cooperation between our countries and peoples.

Socialism brought genuine national and social liberation to Romanian soil. Romania's 40 years of experience in development along the socialist path confirm the tremendous importance of international cooperation and unity of action between socialist countries in the interests of socialist and communist building.

Talks With Romania on Near East, Mediterranean

PM041551 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the "Official Reports" rubric]

[Text] Soviet-Romanian consultations took place 28-29 December at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on questions of the situation in the Near East and problems of the Mediterranean. The Romanian Foreign Ministry delegation headed by I. Melcioiu, director of the Romanian Foreign Ministry's Fourth Territorial Directorate, was received by V.P. Loginov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs. I. Bucur, Romanian ambassador in the USSR, took part in the conversation.

West Europe

Kohl Says FRG 'Prepared' for Better Ties

PM041659 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "A Step Toward Trust"]

[Text] The FRG Government is prepared to open a new chapter in the history of relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union, as repeatedly proposed by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev. But this requires a concrete improvement in economic, cultural, and humanitarian links, FRG Chancellor H. Kohl said today in an interview for the Sueddeutscher Rundfunk radio station.

The chancellor pointed out that the development of relations between the FRG and the USSR must be seen in the context of a definite link with the state of East-West relations. Kohl expressed the hope that there will be another meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan in summer 1988. There is the possibility of yet another step forward in the disarmament sphere, but an overall improvement in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union would be the decisive factor.

There must be stronger trust between the USSR and the United States and also between the two blocs, the chancellor stressed. If the overall climate develops positively, it will have a positive effect on Soviet-West German relations.

Genscher Denounces Binary Chemical Weapons

LD041933 Moscow TASS in English 1908 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Bonn January 4 TASS—West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has denounced the production of binary chemical weapons launched by the United States. Mankind needs the earliest ban of chemical weapons rather than upgrading its types, he told journalists here today.

The minister criticized representatives of the West who put all kind of roadblocks to the conclusion of an international treaty banning nuclear weaponry under the pretext that its terms allegedly cannot be effectively verified by the sides. Genscher alluded to the USSR proposal for conducting on-site inspection in case a respective document on halting the production of warfare poisonous substances is signed.

Genscher Argues Case for East-West Cooperation

PM041519 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Dec 87 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "'Unprecedented Success'"]

[Text] Bonn, 30 Dec—"The summit between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev, held in Washington 7 December 1987, was a breakthrough in the direction of real disarmament," says an article by FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher written for the January issue of the WORLD LINK news bulletin and released here.

"This meeting, whose participants realized their responsibility for mankind's survival, affirmed a new thinking as regards the development of East-West relations and disarmament.

"Thus an entire category of weapons will be eliminated forever. This is an unprecedented success in the history of disarmament," H.-D. Genscher stresses.

If a turning point can be reached today, after decades of confrontation in relations between West and East, it would be a historical mistake for the West to miss this chance, Genscher writes.

"I urgently advise a serious approach toward Gorbachev and his intentions and use of the opportunities inherent in them for creating a better world."

The commandment of the time is cooperation, which opens the borders of systems. The commandment of the time is rejection of old ideas about the enemy, when only the worst was to be expected from the Soviet Union in all imaginable situations. The commandment of the time is to change our attitude in light of the alternatives: either to perish in the nuclear age in conflict with one another,

or to survive via cooperation. This is true in the political and economic sense, it is true in the security sense, and it is true in the sense of preserving the natural foundations of life.

H.-D. Genscher emphasized in conclusion: Europe stands at the crossroads, in the most literal sense of the word. It must decide whether it is worth holding on to the old thinking and retarding the process of rapprochement between West and East, or whether it should energetically contribute to this process and influence its development. The answer is unambiguous. Democratic Europe must take advantage of this chance and establish a truly peaceful system for all Europe. The FRG must realize its responsibility for ensuring peace in Europe, which lies in the positive development of "historical German-Soviet relations," and must live up to this responsibility. The Moscow Treaty, the long-term Soviet-West German agreement on economic cooperation, and the Helsinki Final Act are the starting points and guidelines along this path.

FRG's Strauss on Usefulness of Soviet Visit

PM041727 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jan 87 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Yakhontov dispatch: "'A Useful and Necessary Trip'"]

[Text] Bonn, 2 Jan—The trip to Moscow by Bavarian Minister-President and Chairman of the Christian Social Union [CSU] Franz-Josef Strauss and his meetings and conversations with M.S. Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders have evoked broad interest in the FRG.

Today most major newspapers are carrying an account of F.-J. Strauss' conversation with journalists on his return from Moscow to Munich. Under the headline: "Strauss: Moscow Does Not Want War" Munich's SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG gives a detailed account of the conversation. DIE WELT, FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, and others write about this on their front pages

The Bavarian minister-president pointed out that he gained the conviction from his conversations in Moscow that the Soviet Union does not intend to implant the socialist social system by coercive methods. Exporting the revolution "is not an issue" for the Soviet Union. Strauss drew the conclusion that the Soviet leadership is not thinking about bringing about a military trial of strength with the West either. He noted the presence of broad accord with regard to views on the aims and course of future disarmament talks. This also applies to the opinion that a reduction in tactical missiles and conventional armaments must proceed in parallel with talks on a 50% reduction in strategic offensive armaments. Strauss believes that there is also agreement about an arms reduction by both sides to a level at which offensive actions would become impossible and only a capability for defense would be retained. If this is achieved, the minister-president said, there will no longer be a danger of military blackmail.

The CSU leader stated that he had no doubts that restructuring and glasnost have nothing in common with the liquidation of the socialist economic system. There will be no private ownership of the means of production in the USSR in the future, although enterprise leadership must be improved.

In Strauss' opinion, the trip to Moscow was "useful and necessary," but it must not be the only trip. He said that regular meetings at various levels are necessary.

Spokesman on Visit

LD311808 Moscow TASS in English 1610 GMT 31 Dec 87

[Text] Bonn December 31 TASS—The visit to the USSR of Bavaria's minister president, CSU Chairman Franz Josef Strauss, his talks with the Soviet leaders were successful and useful. A statement to this effect has been made in Bonn today by Friedhelm Ost, an official spokesman for the FRG Government. This visit, he stressed, is particularly useful for a further development of relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic.

Ambassador to FRG Kvitsinskiy Interviewed

DW031120 Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG in German 3 Jan 88 pp 4-5

[Interview with Soviet Ambassador to the FRG Yuliy Kvitsinskiy by Stephan Vogel; date and place not given]

[Text] BILD AM SONNTAG: Franz-Josef Strauss was in Moscow, Lothar Spaeth also plans to go there, and your foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, will come to Bonn. It seems that German-Soviet relations were never better....

Kvitsinskiy: We may talk about an improvement of the quality of political dialogue, which should now be translated into practical policy. That also was Mikhail Gorbachev's idea during his talks with Mr Strauss.

BILD AM SONNTAG: How will economic cooperation develop?

Kvitsinskiy: Under the present structure, we both have reached the limits of trade. The USSR and the FRG need new forms of economic relations. Mr Strauss also stressed that in Moscow. Whatever projects you have in mind—if you really want to enter the Soviet market you should not do it half-heartedly, but should apply yourself fully to it.

BILD AM SONNTAG: How do you assess the Federal Government's present Ostpolitik?

Kvitsinskiy: That is a formulation used in the Federal Republic. I would prefer to speak about relations between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union, and about relations between the Federal Republic and the other socialist countries. They have developed positively.

BILD AM SONNTAG: What specifically do your expect?

Kvitsinskiy: To arrive step by step at a better relationship and at more confidence and cooperation, in the interests of the common house of Europe. Strauss's trip has been a contribution in that respect. It was a full-blooded political visit.

BILD AM SONNTAG: What further disarmament steps do you expect in 1988?

Kvitsinskiy: A 50% reduction in strategic nuclear weapons, the elimination of imbalances in the conventional sphere, and a ban on chemical weapons. Even though the United States has started producing new chemical weapons, we will not slam the door shut. We intend to continue to negotiate actively, but we will have to come to a result soon. The Federal Republic could play an important role here. In the Geneva negotiations, we should head for the same goals, either in parallel or together, and we should do it energetically, because there is no more time to lose.

BILD AM SONNTAG: Do you attribute world-political importance to the Federal Republic?

Kvitsinskiy: Being a central country in West Europe and a country of large economic and growing political importance, the Federal Republic is able to play a role. You should not ask me but your political parties and government whether your country is willing to fully use the chance. The opportunities exist.

BILD AM SONNTAG: Will Mr Gorbachev visit Bonn this year?

Kvitsinskiy: This possibility is being discussed. By the way, we should always expect something good. When it will come depends on both sides' activities. Mr Gorbachev and the federal chancellor exchanged messages. The task now is to prepare well for Mr Shevardnadze's visit. We just have to allow everything to ripen so the fruit is big enough and delicious for both sides.

Portuguese CP Leader Interviewed on Soviet Visit

LD042147 Moscow TASS in English 2120 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Lisbon January 4 TASS—Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), returned home today after having a rest in the Soviet Union.

In an interview with a TASS correspondent, he said that during the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Moscow, Alvaro Cunhal was acquainted in detail with the course of the restructuring process in the Soviet Union, which he described as a major undertaking along the road of strengthening and development of socialist society.

The PCP general secretary on behalf of all Communists of the country fully supported the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington, emphasizing that the INF Treaty signed there became a fundamentally important step along the road of elimination of all nuclear arsenals.

Spanish Weekly Names Gorbachev 'Leader' of 1987

LD041737 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Madrid January 4 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has been named 'The 1987 Leader of the Year in the International Field' by the editorial staff of the CAMBIO-16, one of Spain's major weeklies.

This decision, emphasizes a statement issued by the weekly's editorial staff, has been prompted by hopes inspired by Mikhail Gobachev's intentions to effect changes in the Soviet Union and to secure disarmament in the world.

Official Cited on 'Unease' Over Bases in Turkey

NC040837 Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 29 Dec 87 p 14

[Unattributed report: "What Is the Target of the Bases in Turkey?"]

[Text] Moscow (ANKA)—Leonid Mandzhosin, director of the Turkish Affairs Desk at the USSR Foreign Ministry Middle Eastern Countries Department, has said that the talks between the USSR and the United States on the question of conventional forces in the wake of the summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and President Reagan will not take the form of "bargaining." The matter also concerns Turkey. Mandzhosin asserted: "Bargaining conflicts with the principles upheld by the Soviet Union. There is nothing to give rise to concern in Turkey."

After the return to the Soviet Union of Nikolay Rodionov, the special Soviet envoy who briefed officials in Ankara on the Soviet stand on the outcome of the Gorbachev-Reagan summit in Washington, Mandzhosin answered questions put to him by an ANKA correspondent in Moscow. He described the efforts of Soviet and Turkish officials to improve the existing relations between their countries as a positive move. He added: "We welcome the Turkish Government's decision not to undertake new nuclear responsibilities."

Asked to explain the main reasons for the Soviet Union's unease over the bases in Turkey, particularly the base at Incirlik, Mandzhosin said:

"Favorable meetings have been held between Soviet and Turkish delegations during the past few years. This has led to long-term economic agreements, such as the sale of natural gas to Turkey. Meanwhile, favorable developments are taking place in trade between the two countries. Furthermore, mutual contacts have been established in the cultural domain and in sports activities. A constructive understanding is developing between the two countries, and they are making a positive effort.... However, there is a question to be answered. What is the target of the military bases in Turkey? Incirlik is a very large base. Very effective nuclear arms are stored in that base. Also, it should be recalled that a U-2 spy plane took off from the base in the past. The Soviet union is against the presence of foreign bases in Turkey."

Mandzhosin reiterated the Soviet view that Gorbachev's remarks after the Washington summit in connection with NATO's southern flank were not directed against Turkey. Asked whether Turkey may be included in the bargaining between the Soviet Union and the United States on the question of conventional forces, he replied:

"Bargaining conflicts with the principles upheld by the Soviet Union. There is nothing to give rise to concern in Turkey. The entire world has supported the agreement signed in connection with the intermediate-range missiles. Think about the fact that 5% of existing nuclear weapons is enough to destroy the entire world. The agreement provides for the destruction of 4% of these arms. This is the first time such an agreement has been concluded. The effective control system we have suggested for the destruction of these arms surprised the Western countries. We believe this is an important starting point for taking additional steps in the direction of disarmament. The next stage will be the debate on the balance of power between NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries. If there are imbalances, they will be removed."

On the Cyprus question Mandzhosin said:

"The Soviet Union has been pursuing a very open and clear policy on Cyprus. Nevertheless, the Cyprus problem is currently at an impasse. We have suggested that the problem should be discussed and resolved at an international conference."

Latin America & Caribbean

Congratulations on Cuban National Day Sent

Yazov Message to Raul Castro

PM051305 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Jan 87 Second Edition p 1

[D. Yazov Liberation Day message to Cuba's Raul Castro]

[Text] To Army General Comrade Raul Castro Ruz, minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Republic of Cuba.

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and myself personally, I cordially congratulate you and all the servicemen of Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces on your national holiday—Liberation Day.

We are firmly convinced that the fraternal friendship and fruitful cooperation between our peoples and armies will develop uswervingly in the interests of the cause of peace and socialism and of strengthening the socialist community's economic and defense might.

On the day of your national holiday, Soviet servicemen wish the personnel of the Revolutionary Armed Forces the successful implementation of the decisions of the 3d Communist Party of Cuba Congress and further achievements in combat readiness and in ensuring the reliable defense of the Cuban people's revolutionary gains.

With communist greetings,

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister.

Message to Fidel Castro

FL011251 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 31 Dec 87

[Text] The Soviet Union has sent a message to our commander in chief, Fidel Castro Ruz, in connection with the 29th anniversary of the triumph of the Cuban Revolution. The Soviet Union sends warm greetings and best wishes on Cuba's national holiday, Liberation Day. The message notes that Cuba has had unquestionable successes in solving cardinal social problems, developing education and public health, and raising the masses' great political awareness based on patriotism and dignity, revolutionary enthusiasm, and adherence to the ideals of socialism.

It also notes that Cuba enjoys great prestige in the international arena and that the whole world knows and highly values the efforts to establish the new international economic order, to solve the problem of the developing countries' foreign debt in a just manner, and to strengthen the Nonaligned Movement.

Cuban Parliament Approves Socioeconomic Plan

PM041531 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Dec 87 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "At Session of Cuban Parliament"]

[Text] Havana, 29 Dec—Delegates to the second session of the Cuban National Assembly of the People's Government, third convocation, being held in Havana's Palace of Congresses, have approved the unified plan of the country's socioeconomic development for 1988. It provides, in particular, for an increase of 2% to 3% in the GNP next year and 5% to 6% in exports. In accordance with the state budget for 1988 approved at the session,

there is a considerable increase in appropriations for the needs of health care and education, as well as for the repair and upkeep of the housing stock and the construction of housing and social and consumer projects.

This has been one of the most complex years for the country, F. Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and president of the Republic's Councils of State and Ministers, emphasized at the session. However, the entire people have made truly heroic efforts to successfully counter the difficulties Cuba has encountered. What we have achieved under the 1987 conditions, he pointed out, is a real feat by our people.

Nicaragua's Ortega Comments on INF Accord

LD042152 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 4 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent in Nicaragua Yu. Baranov]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Hope in Nicaragua has been reinforced by concrete steps toward peace. But alarm has not disappeared. Will the new thinking gain the upper hand? Or will it be the madness of the race toward the nuclear abyss, the route of political decisions, or the fanning of regional conflicts? These questions disturb ordinary people, public, and state figures.

[Begin Daniel Ortega video recording in Spanish fading into Russian translation] There must be a positive effect since the INF Treaty is an important element in detente on a global scale. It affects only 4% of nuclear weapons—a minimum, perhaps, but in itself already a step of outstanding historical significance. This became possible thanks to the will and flexible policy of the Soviet Union, although the United States retains its plans to put nuclear arms into space. It is therefore logical to expect, once there has been a move toward detente and concrete steps to disarmament, that there will be a salutory effect also on resolving regional conflicts. [end recording]

Chilean Communists Greeted on 66th Anniversary

PY050251 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2130 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Greetings message from Hector Gutierrez of the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front [FPMR] in Europe to Luis Corvalan, secretary of the Communist Party of Chile [PCCh], on the PCCh's 66th anniversary]

[Text] On the 66th anniversary of a fruitful life in defense of the Chilean workers and people, of the PCCh, the party of Recabarren, Neruda, Carrillo, Diaz, and many other authentic heroes of our people, the local organizations of support for the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front [FPMR] abroad want to extend their fraternal greetings to you, and through you, to the members of the political commission of the Central Committee, and to all militant members.

We, the members of the FPMR, fully agree with the need to promote social mobilizations, to make all possible efforts to achieve unity, and to participate in the people's struggle. We fully agree with the idea that the policy of popular rebellion and the possibility of a national uprising is the only realistic way to recover freedom and democracy.

According to the instructions outlined by the FPMR, the people's armed branch, unity is the demand that must prevail, because united in a resolute struggle, we will reduce the days of terror.

The note adds: Following these objectives, we FPMR members will make every possible effort and will offer our confidence in the people's love and respect for the PCCh as a guarantee that our objectives and actions are on the right path.

The document concludes by saying: Cheers to the 66 years of decisive struggle for the people.

CPSU Congratulates Argentine Communists

LD051018 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0740 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 5 TASS—The CPSU Central Committee has congratulated the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina [PCA] on the 70th anniversary of its foundation.

The CPSU Central Committee's message pointed out that the CPSU and the CPA were linked by traditional bonds of fraternal friendship. It highly assessed the CPA's support for the CPSU's course towards the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society. Ideas of new thinking and policy towards establishing a nuclear-weapon free and non-violent world and a comprehensive system of international security, an important boundary on the road to which was the signing of the treaty between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

The document expressed confidence that cooperation between the two parties will further develop, proceeding from the realization of their common responsibility in the face of new realities in today's world.

Political & Social

Statute Adopted Against Psychiatric Malpractices

LD041648 Moscow TASS in English 1628 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) of the USSR has adopted a statute on conditions and procedures for providing psychiatric assistance, it was reported here.

The statute defines conditions and procedures for administering specialized medical aid to people suffering mental disorders and for protecting their rights and lawful interests.

It provides for legal guarantees against possible errors and malpactices in providing psychiatric assistance to the population.

Among other things, it establishes rules for the original examination, the rendering of psychiatric aid, and the emergency hospitalization of mental patients posing a danger to themselves and to others.

The statute determines the rights and duties of the chief psychiatrists of health agencies, including their duty to exercise control over the correctness of applying medical treatment procedures to mental patients.

It establishes that compulsory treatment of mental patients who have committed dangerous offenses covered by the criminal code should be performed at the mental hospitals of health services.

Legislative instruments will be worked out to regulate the original examination, the provision of aid at polyclinics and hospitals, and the emergency hospitalization of mental patients.

People receiving psychiatric assistance as well as their relatives and lawful representatives may go to court to protest a decision by a chief psychiatrist and a psychiatric commission and are guaranteed legal aid by a lawyer with a view to ensuring their rights.

The observance of legality during the administering of psychiatirc assistance by health services will be monitored by the Procurator's Office of the USSR.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, one of the 15 Soviet constituent republics, has introduced changes to the Criminal Code and the Code of Penal Procedure of the Russian Federation to specify the forced medical treatment procedures to be applied to mental patients who have committed socially dangerous offenses and to make the illegal commitment of a patently healthy person to a mental hospital a criminal offense.

Ligachev Addresses CPSU Education Meeting

LD141536 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] In connection with the pending examination of urgent public education questions at a CPSU Central Committee plenum, a number of meetings with employees of secondary and higher education, science and culture, the press, the USSR Academy of Sciences, as well as party, state, trade-union, and Komsomol bodies has taken place at the party Central Committee. A substantive exchange of views was held on a wide range of questions connected with improving young people's education and upbringing, the implementation of general educational and vocational school reform, and restructuring of the country's higher and special secondary education. It was noted that the restructuring of the work of secondary and higher schools was still proceeding slowly. Serious shortcomings in the organization of the educational process have not been finally overcome. Progressive teaching experience is being poorly disseminated. An acute shortage of current methodologies, educational works, and technical educational equipment, especially computers, is felt. The party course for restructuring, the task to create a unified system of continuing education set by the 27th CPSU Congress, said the participants in the discussions, stipulates the necessity to make corrections to the main directions of school reform. Now, when a new stage has began in party activity for implementing the restructuring, it is extremely important to increase the attention of all party organizations to problems of education, to improve the party guidance of school affairs, and to increase the responsibility of soviet bodies, public organizations, and labor collectives for the upbringing, education, and vocational training of young people.

Comrade Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at the meetings. Taking part in the discussions were Comrades Shcherbakov and Yagodin, USSR ministers; Comrade Dumachev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education; and leadership employees of the USSR Gosplan, Gossnab, the State Committee for Labor and Social Issues, and the Finance Ministry.

Ligachev Visits Educational Equipment Exhibit

LD300553 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Dec 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In connection with the forthcoming plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on the progress in restructuring secondary and higher education, an exhibition of educational technical facilities, used in the country's higher education establishments, has opened in Moscow.

Presented at it are models of school laboratory equipment, computers, instruments, and furniture for educational establishments which are produced by the enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education [Minvuz] and by the branches of the industry and also by some foreign firms.

Comrade Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the exhibition on 29 December. Participating in the visit were: Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; leaders of the USSR State Planning committee, of ministries and departments, and representatives of mass media.

It was noted that the technical equipment of higher educational establishments does not meet the requirements of the time. On average, not more than 60% of the higher educational establishments' requirement for instruments and equipment is being met by indigenous industry. The equipping of higher educational establishments with computer technology facilities and with personal computers has been advancing poorly. The construction in the towns of Oddesa and Gagarin of specialized enterprises for producing technical facilities and instruments for higher educational establishments is going slowly.

The attention of the leaders of the appropriate ministries has been turned to their enterprises' insufficient participation in developing and producing technical facilities for the higher educational establishments. They must expand supplies to higher education of the latest models of computer hardware, optical radio-measuring instruments, television and radio equipment, electro-technical, linguaphone, and also modern machine tools and furniture as soon as possible.

In this connection, insufficient urgency and little activity in resolving matters relating to technical equipping was noted on the part of the USSR Ministry of Higher and secondary Specialized Education. Little attention is being paid to this also by Gosplan and the state committee of material and technical supply of the USSR. The USSR Minvuz has been ordered to develop its own production of teaching equipment in every possible way. An important task is to substantially increase the use of the available equipment, particularly unique equipment, and develop cooperative forms of utilizing it in large higher education centers. The attention of the managers of the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, the Ministry of the Radio Industry, the Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry, the Ministry of the Electronics Industry, the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, and the Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry of the USSR has been drawn to the insufficient participation of enterprises of these industries in developing and producing technical facilities for higher education establishments.

Dobrynin, Lukyanov Address Training Courses

PM311002 Moscow PRAVDA in Russiar 27 Dec 87 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Cadre Training"]

[Text] Courses for secretaries of party gorkoms of republican, kray, and oblast centers responsible for questions of ideological work and chiefs of political enlightenment institutes of the union republic Communist Party Central Committees and party kraykoms and obkoms have ended at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences Institute for Improving the Qualifications of Leading Party, Soviet, and Ideological Cadres.

They studied topical questions of Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of socialist building, economic policy, and the international activity of the CPSU at the present stage. Particular attention was devoted to the implementation of practical tasks in restructuring the CPSU's ideological activity in light of decisions of the 27th party congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and the preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Questions of ideological backup for the radical reform of economic management, the formation of modern economic thinking, the deepening of socialist democracy, and the further democratization of intraparty life were examined. Topical problems of stepping up the activity of culture and arts institutions, the mass media, and scientific organizations were discussed.

The students were addressed by CPSU Central Committee Secretaries A.F. Dobrynin and A.I. Lukyanov; CPSU Central Committee Department Chiefs Yu.P. Voronov, V.A. Grigoryev, and Yu.A. Sklyarov; CPSU Central Committee Department Deputy Chiefs A.I. Vlasov, P.Ya. Slezko, G.K. Kryuchkov, V.N. Sevruk, and G.S. Strizhov; USSR Ministers and USSR State Committee Chairmen A.V. Vlasov, I.I. Gladkiy, A.P. Dumachev, V.G. Zakharov, A.I. Kamshalov, S.G. Shcherbakov, and G.A. Yagodin; Adademician G.L. Smirnov, director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism; R.G. Yanovskiy, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and rector of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; chief editors of journals N.B. Bikkenin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, of KOMMUNIST, N.Ya. Klepach of POLITICHESKOYE OBRAZOVANIYE, and M.P. Gabdulin of AGITATOR; G.N. Seleznev, chief editor of hte newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA; V.I. Stepanov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee All-Union Political Enlightenment Institute; AUCCTU secretary V.M. Mishin; Komsomol Central Committee secretary N.I. Paltsev; and others. There were meetings with senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee and ministries and departments, scientists, personalities from culture and art, and journalists.

The courses covered widely the practice of local party organizations in improving the style and methods of ideological activity at the new stage of restructuring. The students were addressed by Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, and V.A. Baskakova, secretary of Ulyanovsk CPSU Obkom. There was an exchange of experience in work to improve national relations and international education, establish the moral pricniples of the Soviet way of life, implement the reform in the education system, and increase the effectiveness of political and economic education and lecture propaganda.

The students carried out practical field studies of the experience of the restructuring of ideological work in the Belorussian republican, Leningrad Oblast, and Kiev City party organizations.

Solovyev Addresses 19 Dec Leningrad Obkom Plenum
PM291429 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 87 Second Edition p2

[PRAVDA correspondent V. Gerasimov report: "Plenum Held"; last paragraph is editorial note]

[Text] Leningrad, 19 Dec—Participants in the Leningrad CPSU Obkom plenum held today discussed a report by the party obkom bureau on work to lead the restructuring process. A report was given by Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom.

A report on the plenum will be published in PRAVDA in the near future.

Solovyev Attends Leningrad Theater Soiree
LD282352 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Excerpts] Igor Gorbachev, arts manager of the Leningrad Pushkin Academic Theater of Drama, People's Artist of the USSR and Hero of Socialist Labor, today celebrated 60 years at this professional stage, one of the oldest in Russia. [passage omitted]

Comrade Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom, attended the jubilee soiree at the Pushkin Theater.

Demichev Awarded Order of Lenin
LD021903 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Jan 88

[Text] By decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Petr Nilovich Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has been awarded the Order of Lenin. This is in honor of his great services to the Communist Party and Soviet state, and his 70th birthday.

Demichev Presents State Awards in Kremlin
LD041510 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Comrade Demichev today presented a group of comrades with USSR state awards in the Kremlin.

Academician Sedov was presented with the Order of Lenin.

The order of the October Revolution was conferred on Kayurov, actor of the USSR State Academic Malyy Theater.

Writer Ales Adamovich; chief of a department of the USSR Gosplan, Volodin; and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Nadzharov, were presented with orders of the Red Banner of Labor.

Professor Makarova of the All-Union State Institute of Cinematography, and directors of the Mosfilm studio Naumov and Ryazanov received Orders of Friendship Among Peoples.

Orders of Friendship Among Peoples and of the Badge of Honor, and medals for labor prowess and labor excellence were also presented to other comrades.

(Krysin), professor at the "Sego Ordzhonikidze" Moscow Aviation Institute, was presented with a scroll on the conferment of the honorary title of Merited Technologist of the USSR.

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government, Comrade Demichev warmly congratulated the recipients of the awards.

Tashkent Obkom Plenum Debates Reported
PM041553 Moscow TRUD in Russian 29 Dec 87 p 1

[Report by TASS correspondent T. Dagdzhi and TRUD correspondent G. Kryuk: "Restructuring Needs Work Superintendents. Notes From Tashkent Party Obkom Plenum"]

[Excerpt] Tashkent—[Passage omitted] In preparing for the plenum the members and candidate members of the Obkom Bureau, the obkom secretaries, and senior officials abandoned for the first time the traditional methods of gathering information and statistical materials and decided to consult directly with ordinary Communists, listen to their opinion, and jointly formulate an action program.

Following one after another, the meetings—with representatives of the economic aktiv, progressive workers, veterans, and young people—had a big influence on the substance and tone of the report delivered to the plenum participants by T. Alimov, first secretary of the party obkom, and imparted concreteness and sharpness to it.

Positive changes have taken place in the oblast's economy in recent years. There has been an increase in the production growth rates for the majority of types of output. Yet the people of Tashkent Oblast have been unable to attain the planned targets. Considerable blame for this lies with the party organization. The struggle for restructuring is being waged inconsistently, and the obkom is not yet in full control of the situation and continually tends toward the use of campaigns.

There is an alarming state of affairs in housing construction. Farmers do not gladden us with successes. The quality of a striking number of products with the Tashkent Oblast mark, particularly light industry products, is beneath all criticism. The state acceptance system is proceeding with great difficulty. Seventeen of the 21 enterprises where it has been introduced have failed to fulfill their delivery plans. The plenum participants sharply criticized members and candidate members of the party Obkom Bureau for their obsolete, imperious style of leadership. This was confirmed right here, at the plenum. Obkom Secretary S. Saydaliyev tried to "put in their place those who had overstepped the mark" by shouting at them. That episode prompted the plenum participants to include in the resolution a point on the need for a party attitude toward criticism.

The very course of the plenum differed strikingly from the old sessions "rehearsed" down to the minutest detail. Only some 3 years ago V. Grishchuk, first secretary of Chinazskiy party raykom, would have been applauded from the floor for proposing legalizing for the future the practice of recruiting schoolchildren to pick cotton in "the state interests." This time that did not happen. Indignant voices were heard from the seats: "Why have our neighbors, the Tajiks, managed to dispense with recruiting schoolchildren and students?" and "The city is going over to economic accountability and self-capitalization, and we have had enough of using city folk to cover up for some people's lack of organization and laxity!"

This incident reflected a pressing problem. The Tashkent party organization bears more serious responsibility than any other for the state of affairs in cotton growing. For the chief scientific and technical potential called upon to give the cotton grower a reliable, highly productive machine that will finally free human hands from hard, inefficient labor is concentrated precisely in the republic capital's oblast. Unfortunately, designers and scientists are still marking time—the emergence of a new machine is not foreseen either today or tomorrow.

There was also a principled discussion of the steps taken by the bureau to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Serious Shortcomings in the Work of Tashkent Oblast Party Organization in Admitting People to the Party and Strengthening Party Ranks." Communists are now being certified in all party organizations. This form of work has proved its worth. It makes people pull themselves up to scratch, work on themselves, and be really in the vanguard of restructuring. The plenum participants proposed making changes to the CPSU Statutes at the All-Union Party Conference to oblige all party organizations to certify Communists regularly.

If you compare the restructuring process with deep, thorough plowing, it is possible to state that only the first furrow has been cut in the Uzbek capital's oblast. The braking mechanism has certainly not been smashed, and stagnation and conservatism are only grudgingly yielding their positions.

The plenum leveled serious and quite just criticism at the oblast's trade unions: There is a lot of formalism and overregimentation, and no sense of active involvement in the struggle for restructuring. This thought again occurred: Is party influence on trade union collectives, which has slackened noticeably in recent years, not a serious cause of this situation? Not one of the oblast party leaders attended this year's trade union report and election meetings in local components. Is it possible to direct the course of restructuring efficiently, foresee possible obstacles, and support burgeoning new developments in time without knowing people's sentiments, needs, and requirements?

"Tell me," T. Saidbayev, director of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law, asked the hall, "who among those sitting here has supported in time even one of the work superintendents of restructuring? Those who take risks, who are not immediately understood, who are hindered...?"

We two journalists, like the others, also fell to thinking: Whom have we really helped? The lingering silence certainly was not an admission that such examples do not exist. They do, but they are still extremely few. The whole meaning of party work today consists in swelling the ranks of work superintendents of restructuring and creating conditions under which neither a bureaucrat, nor a reactionary, nor an overcautious person can hinder them. For a force field of acceleration is being formed around these people today, and the mass of conscientious working people are reaching out to them.

By its decision the plenum unanimously voted for an active, creative attitude toward restructuring. But how soon will this unanimity be translated into action?

Komi Obkom Views Leadership of Restructuring

PM311221 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 23 Dec 87 p 2

[Report by own correspondent V. Krukovskiy: "From the Komi CPSU Obkom Plenum: A Torrent of Criticism, A Trickle of Work"]

[Excerpts] Syktyvkar—Just before the plenum obkom members and the party gorkoms and raykoms of the republic were sent a draft of the report on the bureau's work in leading restructuring. It was composed in the style to which party workers have become accustomed: Here are our achievements, and here "certain" shortcomings, these latter occurring through oversights on the part of gorkoms, raykoms, and primary party organizations.

That is how the document was read in party committees, and Obkom Bureau members went to the plenum in fine critical mood. But the report by obkom First Secretary V. Melnikov unexpectedly broke the old stereotypes and by its complete frankness and self-critical character bore no resemblance to the previous draft.

"Only real improvements can be the criterion for evaluating our work in leading restructuring," the speaker said. [passage omitted]

"The administrative-edict style has still not been eradicated from the actions of obkom secretaries," L. Podlasov, first secretary of Syktyvkar party gorkom, said, "they often resolve economic problems through the economic managers, bypassing party organization secretaries..."

The plenum stressed that obkom apparatus workers, its secretaries, and bureau members have still not fully mastered political methods of leadership. They cling to their control functions and begrudge the transfer of economic functions to the republic Council of Ministers. Hence also the undervaluation of the role of local party organizations. As may be illustrated by the speech delivered to the plenum by V. Churakov, first secretary of Troitsko-Pechorskiy CPSU Raykom. He expressed surprise that not a single party raykom secretary had been invited to a conference involving the participation of the minister of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry when the very acute question of switching the sector over to self-financing was examined.

The Obkom Bureau and apparatus were sharply criticized for insufficient activity and persistence in carrying out decisons that had been adopted. [passage omitted]

Of course, a principled and unbiased discussion about shortcomings in the leadership of restructuring is a good thing. But it also generated a feeling of dissatisfaction and occasional alarm. A businesslike analysis of the role and place of the party organizations in restructuring often disappeared behind critical enthusiasm. For example, the Syktyvkar timber industry complex bungled its plan and fell into arrears when switching to the state reception system. What, then, did the enterprise party committee and party raykom do, and how did the appropriate obkom department react? This, alas, was not said. Yes, and while acknowledging that the republic's enterprises are not ready today for the transfer to self-financing neither the main speaker nor others mentioned the party organizations of enterprises whose collectives are already working in the new way. What are the lessons of their experience, how and where are the obkom departments manifesting themselves here? The main speaker avoided answering these questions.

Such "lack of agreement" indicates that the Obkom Bureau has still not established itself everywhere as the organ of political leadership. The search for new methods of party work has not yet yielded substantial results.

The plenum endorsed basic measures by the CPSU Obkom on the leadership of restructuring. It would be a good thing if this document, which reflects the role of each department and all secretaries and members of the bureau in the leadership of restructuring, could help the transition from critical analysis to real, substantive action. Criticism and self-criticism are not a goal in themselves but a means of making progress.

Magadan Obkom Discusses Restructuring

PM311145 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 22 Dec 87 p 5

[Own correspondent V. Androsenko report: "Economic Accountability Has Not Yet Made Its Mark. From a Magadan CPSU Obkom Plenum"]

[Text] Magadan—Before the plenum I asked Hero of Socialist Labor A. Antoshkin, captain of a fishing trawler: "How are you finding work in conditions of restructuring? What has it already given the 'Magadanrybprom' collective?"

"Unfortunately, so far there is more talk than action here," the renowned fisherman replied. "As in the past, the norms and assessments are being drawn up for the fishermen by people who have never been to sea, and as before our leaders do not see their subordinates even if they trip over them; and of all the methods of dealing with them they prefer two—censure and hectoring. And they do not pay enough attention to production organization. The painful effects of this were felt especially during the fall herring-fishing season. For almost 2 months—September and October—70 vessels of our association were senselessly marking time at sea because of a lack of barrels and cans and factory ship delays. As a result, the country lost much needed produce and fishermen lost their earnings."

It is true, restructuring is proceeding with difficulty in Magadan Oblast. The preparations for the switch to the new methods of management, self-capitalization, and self-financing are slow. What can you say about primary organizations if even most secretaries and apparatus officials of party raykoms—the headquarters of the restructuring at local level—have a poor idea of the functioning of enterprises in conditions of full economic accountability [khozraschet]. The situation is aggravated by the unenviable financial position of many national economic sectors and the insufficiently developed material and technical base. It is much harder for local enterprises than for enterprises located in the country's central regions to achieve profitability because the levels of expenditure in Kolyma and Chukotka are 2-3 times higher. Furthermore, how can it be achieved if the fixed assets of most mining and enrichment combines date back to the forties and fifties? It is therefore not surprising that by 1 December more than 30 enterprises in the oblast were essentially bankrupt, and that of the 189 enterprises which are switching to full economic accountability [khozraschet] on 1 January, 22% are loss-making.

Teaching labor collectives concrete economics and strict accounting and rational utilization of labor and material resources therefore assume a special importance. Effective measures rather than the "short-term" solutions proposed by some managers are needed. One such amazing measure applied at the "Severovostokugol" Association was described at the plenum by S. Veretennikov, team leader at the Palatkinskaya motor vehicle base. The task of eliminating the idle time of trucks to be loaded with coal at the Tal-Yurakh open-cut mine was solved using a simple device: A roadblock was erected at the entrance and only one truck at a time is allowed through to the excavators. The fact that the dump trucks continue to stand around for hours waiting to be loaded does not bother the coalmen—they are not waiting on their territory. Everyone on the Kolyma route is laughing at this "innovation."

Attitudes of dependence are still widespread at local level. For instance, the implementation of the housing program in the oblast is being seriously held up as a result of shortages of construction and finishing materials. Many rayon leaders regard this as an insurmountable obstacle and besiege the authorities at various levels with demands for additional allocations of funds and resources. Somehow it has been overlooked that during the postwar years brickworks were in operation in Susumanskiy, Severo-Evenskiy, and other rayons which were producing relatively good quality bricks. What is preventing people from reviving this trade which would assist housing construction?

The party obkom is aware of the hampering impact of these phenomena, and this was also confirmed by the plenum. CPSU Obkom First Secretary A. Bogdanov defined the tasks as follows:

It must be a question of getting restructuring going at full speed, of overcoming the stifling routine in many organizations, and providing full scope for Communists' initiative.

The first secretary proposed that the discussion open by focusing on him and the members of the bureau. Until quite recently, it was noted at the plenum, an authoritarian and administrative-command style prevailed in the work of the bureau and the obkom apparatus. The oblast party headquarters must be credited with having changed its methods of leadership. Collective leadership, glasnost, and businesslike, principled criticism are now taking root in the work of the bureau. "It appears that it is not a bad thing to have one's own opinion," one of the bureau members said in this context.

Principled relations are also being established in the grassroots party organizations. People are acquiring civic maturity and courage and are assessing the work of their party leaders more strictly. By 15 December 356 elected party organs in the oblast had submitted accounts of their leadership of restructuring. The work of 2 party committees and 10 party bureaus was assessed as unsatisfactory. In the course of this campaign 66 party bureau members were reelected, the composition of only 2 party committees remained the same.

However, by no means all party committees and primary party organizations have found their place in tackling the new tasks. Some are obviously not in step with the demands of life and the mood of the masses. Some have simply been left behind. In some labor collectives people do not see any real change either in the production or the social sphere. The saddest thing of all is that at many report-and-election meetings in party groups and shop and primary party orgnizations with less than 15 members the Communists did not even mention this.

Over the past 2 years 627 people have been expelled from the party in the oblast, over 30% of them for criminal offenses and abuse of office, more than 40% for drunkenness, hooliganism, and moral degradation, and 17% for violations of party, state, or labor discipline. However, the struggle for moral purification has not been espoused by the broad party masses. To this day most of the individual cases are instituted and decisions on bringing Communists to book are taken on the basis of instructions from superior party organs rather than on the initiative of primary organizations. There is only one conclusion to be drawn from this—the Obkom Bureau and party committees have not succeeded in bringing Communists' activeness in line with current requirements.

One of the main spheres of the oblast party organization's activity is the development of democracy. The practice of electing production managers is now being introduced everywhere. Other democratic forms such as team and labor collective councils are also gaining

ground. It is no secret, however, that many of them have still not found their place in restructuring, and their role is confined to participation in the distribution of earnings.

The process of democratization calls for glasnost, encouragement of criticism and self-criticism, and support for those who have the courage to speak openly about everything that concerns us today. The obkom bureau has adopted a principled stance in this respect, which was graphically revealed recently in the assessment of the actions of Srednekanskiy party raykom which to all intents and purposes sanctioned reprisals against the rayon newspaper for its critical articles. This case, which revealed the inability of certain party officials to provide leadership for the press, has been described as unprecedented.

We cannot tone down the criticism, A. Bogdanov stressed. Toning it down would mean halting restructuring and creating preconditions for the revival of the stagnation phenomena.

I would like to make the following observation. The obkom bureau has subjected many negligent officials to criticism. Sometimes the criticism helps and sometimes it does not. At many bureau sessions the leadership of the oblast agro-industrial complex was censured. At this plenum too it was stated that the agro-industrial apparatus is functioning inefficiently. It has become a refuge where people who have created havoc at their previous places of work are weathering the storm (while retaining their high salaries). On this occasion, too, the plenum participants bluntly raised the question of the unsuitability of the agro-industrial leaders for the posts they hold. However, as in the past, everything ended with routine criticism.

Nonetheless, the change of direction toward new ideas is clearly discernible in the work of the oblast party organization—this is the unanimous opinion of the Communists I have talked to. And the discussion at the plenum has contributed to the consolidation of these changes.

PRAVDA Reports Zaporozhye Obkom Plenum

PM311239 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 87 Second Edition p 2

[Report by special correspondents N. Mironov, A. Shinkin: "Without Respect of Persons," under the rubric "Party Committee Plenums"]

[Text] Zaporozhye—We had a detailed discussion the day before with A. Sazonov, first secretary of Zaporozhye Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom. We got the impression that Anatoliy Pavlovich was suffering from preplenum nerves. He was first entrusted with the job of leading the oblast party organization 2 years ago. That is why he felt that not only the bureau report would be discussed but also his own personal report. The tasks he had inherited with the job had not been easy. The oblast had been going downhill for a long time, although not everyone had noticed this. It was only natural that people living in the oblast would hope that the fresh outlook and different approach of the new people in charge would change the situation and ensure acceleration. So has this actually happened?

Presenting his report at the plenum, A. Sazonov was forced to say: "In the conditions of glasnost, democratization, and the establishment of new economic relations the bureau has been unable to fully raise the level of party leadership in labor collectives to a qualitatively new degree."

He could perhaps have expressed himself more accurately and incisively. The oblast economy has been at a standstill for the last few years. This year is no exception. The acceleration in industry observed after the 27th CPSU Congress now seems to have gone into reverse.

The situation is no better in the agro-industrial complex. PRAVDA discussed this on the eve of the plenum in the article "Where on Earth Has It All Gone?" The speakers supported the newspaper's critical item. They also cited other examples of bad management. What talk can there be of implementing the Food Program, they said from the rostrum, if the gross output of agricultural produce, milk yields, and meat production are in practice frozen at the 1981 level?

There have been no noticeable changes in the social sphere. The thousands of written and verbal appeals to party and soviet bodies are evidence of this. There is an endless stream of criticism about the work of transport, erratic supplies of bread and other basic necessities, the quality of commissioned housing and municipal and consumer services, and serious shortcomings in medical services.

In short, the situation in the economy and in the social sphere is alarming. What are the reasons for this, the speakers asked? It has not gone unnoticed that members of the obkom bureau are still not anxious to soberly assess the situation and give a real picture of events. In their report they clearly glossed over the serious aspects and omitted a number of important problems relating to the oblast's socioeconomic development.

No, not one of the speakers tried to detract from the new approach in the obkom's work. The good changes that have been made were treated on their merits: there is greater efficiency, specificity, and glasnost, less creation of paperwork, and bureau members pay more frequent visits to labor collectives.... But is this enough? Are the obkom and its bureau prepared to work efficiently in conditions where the heavy hand of arbitrary decisions is not required but extensive democratization and the ability to guide, coordinate, unite, and boost the masses' social activeness through party organizations, cadres, monitoring, and the creation of a new atmosphere in the oblast, city, rayon, and every collective?

V. Demyanov, first secretary of the Kuybyshevskiy CPSU Raykom, who opened the discussion, approached his assessment of bureau activity from precisely this standpoint. In his opinion, the bureau has a poor knowledge of the situation at grassroots level and is not always master of it. It is often the case that superficiality and incompetence go hand in hand in bureau practice with liberalism and sluggishness when it comes to solving problems.

"However many good resolutions have been adopted by the bureau, they are worthless if they just remain on paper," S. Bil, a tinsmith at the "Preobrazovatel" Production Association, said from the rostrum.

The plenum participants advised members of the obkom bureau to forget the trivia, rise above routine matters, develop the ability to select the most important aspects, and concentrate their attention on these. In 30 months it has discussed more than 1,000 issues. Is this not rather too much talking?

In this respect it is proposed to raise the following issue at the 19th All-Union Party Conference: Normative documents determining the number of bureau sessions, plenums, and meetings should be reviewed and the number of these gatherings reduced in order to release the members of party committees and their apparatus from this mania for conferences. In addition to this, in order to improve the results of efforts by members of an elected organ the status of the party request to higher soviet and economic organs should be developed along the lines of the deputy request.

"Full economic accountability is now becoming a reality for many collectives," A. Khamula, team leader at the "Ukrgidrospetsfundamentstroy" Trust, said. "It is very important to help people to understand the main point of the new economic approaches right from the start. But the party obkom has not taken the trouble to do this. This is a serious oversight!"

The concern felt by this team leader—concern shared by other speakers—is justified. Another 98 enterprises will transfer to full economic accountability in the new year. They will account for more than 64% of the oblast's total industrial output and so they will determine the situation. But, it was noted at the plenum, the obkom's sectional and economic departments have done virtually nothing about the problems of giving party political backing to the changes taking place at all levels of management and are making a poor job of monitoring cadres' training.

The present party apparatus structure fetters initiative and the possibility for maneuver, it was noted at the plenum. It almost seems to be purpose-built for a high-handed administrative work style. Members of the Zaporozhye CPSU Obkom believe that the proposal to amend the CPSU Statute should definitely be discussed at the all-union party conference. The Statute states: "The structure and staff of the party apparatus is decided by the CPSU Central Committee." It is proposed that they be decided by "the bureau of the relevant party committee within the wage limits established by the higher party organ."

The speakers felt that the style of the party obkom is primarily the work style of its secretaries and bureau. That is why the discussion "became personal" time and again. Practical ability was not the only topic of discussion; character traits of specific comrades were also mentioned.

First Secretary A. Sazonov perhaps had to listen to more observations than most. Here are extracts from some of the speeches:

"He must have more confidence in his colleagues, treat cadres' work in a thoughtful, respectful manner, be able to listen to comrades' opinions, be more accessible, and clearly express his own attitude to problems of great social importance."

"He must not take everything upon himself and do others' work for them, develop comrades' initiative, and cultivate their sense of responsibility."

"He must learn to regard bureau members and secretaries of the obkom, gorkom, and raykom as comrades-in-arms as well as assistants and executives...."

Speakers at the plenum told how V. Tseluyko, obkom secretary, would often refer to "number one" when giving instructions: This is from Anatoliy Pavlovich himself, he would say. But it is time that he—as the "curator" of agriculture— learned to make decisions independently. But neither he nor V. Veretelnik, chairman of the oblast agro-industrial committee, are in any hurry to alter their attitude to their duties or act with vigor and are completely wrapped up in the round of paperwork, conferences, and "briefings." V. Adzerikho, secretary of the party obkom, who is responsible for construction matters, also works without enthusiasm or initiative.

A. Prichkin, obkom second secretary, has not really got into his role, the speakers said at the plenum. He does not ensure proper interaction between departments, particularly in monitoring the implementation of decisions and work with cadres. He is not principled or consistent enough. P. Moskalkov, oblispolkom chairman, has not really got down to solving major issues concerning the oblast's socioeconomic development. He does not see things through. He is not always principled in cadre assessment. Speakers noted that he can be arrogant and "take offense" at criticism.

The discussion about bureau members' personal qualities was linked to the cadre problem. Yes, a considerable number of new approaches based on glasnost and democracy have been found. For example, in the last 2

years more than 1,300 leaders of various ranks have been elected and 212 appointed as a result of discussion in labor collectives. But errors are still made. A study recently carried out in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee showed that there is no real reserve of leading cadres for many responsible areas. And the formation of this reserve is often left to a narrow circle of people without any discussion involving party organizations.

At the same time obkom members consider it essential that the All-Union Party Conference carefully study the question of democratizing cadre policy in relation to party and soviet organs. It is proposed, in particular, to discuss the issue of whether party committee secretaries—obkom and kraykom level included—should be elected by direct secret ballot involving all conference delegates and not just committee members.

It is clear from the discussion of the obkom bureau report on leadership of the restructuring process that the elected body has still to overcome a considerable amount of stereotyped thinking and obsolete work methods. The plenum did not beat about the bush, as they say, when it came to shortcomings. Those responsible were not allowed to skulk in the shadows. It is important, people said after the plenum, that we do not descend to the level of "personality" but all work together to quickly eliminate shortcomings and failings. Is the obkom bureau capable of making the necessary breakthrough? Oblast committee secretaries gave their assurances from the plenum rostrum: It is capable. Now down to business.

Alma-Ata Obkom Officials Criticized at Plenum

PM041345 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 22 Dec 87 p 2

[Own correspondent V. Yelufimov report under the rubric "Party Life: Facets of Restructuring": "Without Profound Analysis. This Is How an Alma-Ata Kazakh Communist Party Obkom Plenum Assessed the Work of Its Bureau in the Leadership of Restructuring"]

[Text] A fresh wind of change has swept through the life of the oblast party organization. Almost the entire membership of its bureau has recently been replaced and quite a few more active and principled comrades have been elected to the party obkom. Communists have mounted a decisive offensive against the phenomena of stagnation, protection, nepotism, violations of the principles of social justice and socialist legality, and bureaucracy. The principles of democracy and glasnost are going deeper.

The course toward the acceleration of socioeconomic development during the first stage of restructuring has produced pleasing results. For the first time in many years it has proved possible in the oblast to overcome the trend toward the deceleration of the growth rate in almost all spheres of national economic development: Industrial and agricultural production output volumes and capital construction, especially of projects in the social sphere, have increased substantially. By the 70th anniversary of Great October the oblast had fulfilled the 2-year plan for sales to the state of meat, milk, eggs, wool, sugarbeets, and other products.

Restructuring is under way in many areas. In the old days this would have been proclaimed a great success with a flourish and the party obkom's outstanding contribution to this cause would have been praised. At this plenum the discussion turned to other matters. M.S. Mendybayev, the obkom first secretary, who delivered the report, and most of the other speakers focused their attention on shortcomings and unused reserves. Much justified criticism was leveled at secretaries and bureau members.

The administrative-pressure style of work has still not been eradicated in the obkom secretariat and bureau, words do not tally with actions, little is being done to verify on the spot the effectiveness of the measures adopted, mistakes are being committed in cadre work, and not enough is being done to improve the situation in the economic sphere. Is this not the reason why one in six enterprises in the oblast has failed to meet the target for labor productivity growth, profits are falling, and the number of laggard collectives is increasing?

The standard of leadership of the machine-building complex, which has failed to deliver more that R16 million-worth of goods since the beginning of the year, is causing special concern. Among the laggards the "Porshen" plant, which has failed to meet contract commitments for the delivery of components and subassemblies for agricultural machinery, and the Alma-Ata margarine plant and cotton combine were named specifically. An investigation carried out in the course of preparations for the plenum has revealed that many enterprises and farms are not ready for the switch to economic accountability [khozraschet], self-capitalization, and self-financing.

Restructuring has focused the work of party committees on concern for people—a matter which was neglected in the pursuit of "prestigious" indicators in the past. Improving food supplies to the population is of prime importance in this context, the plenum participants emphasized. There are changes for the better in this sphere, but it must not be forgotten that agriculture only meets 50% of the local requirement for meat and milk, and there is not enough fruit, vegetables, and canned products. As a result food has to be brought into Alma-Ata from all over Kazakhstan, and sometimes even from other republics.

So far, the difficulties with the supply of meat and milk to Alma-Ata residents are understandable—their production cannot be increased overnight. But what explanation is there for the shortage of vegetables other than the sluggishness of the party obkom and the oblast agroprom? This question has been raised repeatedly at

Kazakh Communist Central Committee plenums, yet the production of vegetables is decreasing. Over the past 2 years a shortfall of 35,000 tonnes of vegetables against the plan has built up. The shortfall in farm sales of fruit and berries is even bigger. Last fall, more than 57,000 tonnes of cabbage, carrots, and table beets had to imported to Alma-Ata from other oblasts.

It was noted at the plenum that A.I. Shchekota, the obkom second secretary, is directly responsible for the situation which has developed in the supply of fruit and vegetables to the population; the Shchekota who, incidentally, was in charge of the ill-fated sector in his post as the republic's first deputy minister for fruit and vegetable growing. Feverishly drafting all kind of measures, he was unable to organize proper party control of their implementation, and he tends to get involved in day-to-day economic matters which are not within the party committee's sphere of competence to the detriment of the main cause, as a result of which not only vegetable growing but other sectors too are suffering.

The implementation of the "Feed-Protein" program is proceeding unsatisfactorily in the oblast, there is much formalism in the introduction of the collective contract and internal economic accountability [khozraschet], pedigree breeding and animal specialist work is not in line with the demands of the times, and livestock unit productivity is increasing too slowly. Farms, especially vegetable-growing farms, counting on city dwellers' assistance, are ignoring intensive cultivation techniques, infringing crop rotation regulations year after year, and tolerating a nonrational sowing structure. Meanwhile, the oblast agroprom is not only not promoting the enhancement of agricultural standards but at times is even hindering it.

"How much longer," M. Nasyrov, chairman of Uygurskiy Rayispolkom, asked, "will the oblast agroprom dictate to farms what they should be sowing, when, and where?"

This question has been asked by speakers at previous plenums but an answer is still outstanding. Evidently, the agroprom style of work has the backing of the party obkom which itself frequently stoops to superfluous stage-management, petty tutelage, and supplanting of economic organs.

According to A. Sarin, first secretary of Dzhambulskiy party raykom, it is impossible even to deliver livestock to the meat combine without A.I. Shchekota's sanction. Other obkom officials are also meddling in economic matters. As A.Z. Ponomarev, first secretary of Kaskelenskiy party raykom noted, the only thing that interests them during visits to local level are economic questions.

What, in that case, are the oblast agroprom specialists doing? They rarely visit farms. A. Dyusyumbekova, a milkmaid from the "Aksay" Sovkhoz, drew the plenum participants' attention to this fact. V.A. Krampets, party committee secretary on the Iliyskiy Sovkhoz named for Tyumebayev, cited the following example: Oblast agroprom specialist Nemeshev demanded during a visit to the farm that grain should be cut ahead of time, and as a result all the grain harvested according to his instructions was fit only for livestock feed.

A great deal of criticism was leveled at obkom bureau member Z.K. Minbayev: Everyone awaited with impatience what the oblast agroprom chairman would have to say to justify himself. He openly admitted that the committee which he heads has been transformed into an extramural department of the party obkom and that its functions are confined in the main to obtaining information demanded from above and drafting reports. This has resulted in a weakening of both the party and the economic leadership of the agro-industrial complex in the oblast and a failure to exploit potential for increasing food resources.

Many problems have also accumulated in capital construction. Since the beginning of the 5-year plan a sum of almost R150 million has not been assimilated, and this is holding up production intensification, the retooling of the national economy, and the implementation of social programs. The performance of local enterprises in switching to the production of needed consumer goods is extraordinarily poor. Judging by the plenum speeches, the standard of leadership of the health service, public education, trade, and consumer services is also causing concern.

The success of restructuring depends on people. Yet this is frequently forgotten in party organizations which fail to involve the working people in the solution of state and social affairs. According to Alma-Ata Construction and Installation Administration-3 decorator V. Dontsova and cotton combine weaver L.V. Kochetova, even some members of the party obkom are but passive onlookers. In most collectives political influence extends only to the aktiv, while obkom propaganda and agitation department officials headed by S.M. Dolgirev confine themselves in the main to recording major omissions in political, labor, and moral education.

Communists have learned to look truth straight in the face and to frankly express their personal opinion. It is true that not everyone has as yet overcome the old habit of using the rostrum for self-justification or of trying to shift onto others the blame for their own mistakes. However, it is not all that difficult to criticize everyone left, right, and center. It is much more difficult to make an in-depth analysis of the processes that are taking place in the life of the oblast party organization. Unfortunately, many shortcomings in the leadership of restructuring were mentioned at the plenum only in passing, without exposing the causes that have engendered them.

19 Dec Georgian PArty Plenum Reported

PM291419 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "On the Path of Restructuring and Renewal"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 19 Dec—Ways to ensure the best possible combination of state and departmental and public and private interests, and also production and consumption prospects, were defined by the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee plenum held here today. It discussed the tasks of party, soviet, and economic bodies in the republic connected with transferring enterprises to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing beginning 1988.

The report by D.I. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and the speeches stressed that skillful party influence on the process of restructuring the economic mechanism is now becoming the main pivot of all work. The republic is preparing to transfer to primarily economic methods of management.

Ensuring a reliable start to the transition to full economic accountability and self-financing involves making a better job of seeking out internal reserves and more boldly transcending the confines of existing stereotypes. This is the only way, it was stressed at the plenum, that we can properly implement the USSR Law "On the State Enterprise (Association)," which offers broad opportunities to regulate economic relations and develop social activeness.

Borisenko Made Ukraine Statistics Chief

AU290951 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 24 Dec 87 p 1

["A Decree of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves to appoint Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Borisenko chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Statistics.

[Signed] V. Shevchenko, chairman, and N. Khomenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The city of Kiev, 23 December 1987

Born in 1935 at Glubokoye village, Borispolskiy Rayon, Kiev Oblast, Nikolay Ivanovich Borisenko is a Ukrainian and a trained economist. Having graduated from the T.G. Shevchenko State University in Kiev, he worked in state statistical organs and then in Kiev Gorkom. From 1968 to 1975 he held leading posts in the Ukrainian Gosplan. From 1975 to 1987 he was deputy chief of the Economic Department in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. In August 1987 he was appointed first deputy chief of the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Statistics.

Cultural Society Formed With Azerbaijanis Abroad

NC311142 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] The founding committee of the Azerbaijan SSR Homeland Society for Cultural Relations with Azerbaijan SSR Nationals in Foreign Countries met in the Muslim Magamayev State Philharmonic Orchestra hall today. Ramiz Mekhtiyev, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, opened the meeting. Addressing the convocation, writer [name indistinct]; Abbas Kamalov, corresponding member of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences; and writer (?Elchin) described the founding of the homeland society as a symbolic development in the era of reconstruction in the Republic.

The meeting elected the society's Administrative Council, Presidium, and Auditing Commission. Seventy-six members were elected to the Administrative Council and 27 to the Presidium. The Auditing Commission was made up of six members.

Poet Abbas Abdullah read the society's rules and regulations. Writer (?Elchin Efendiyev) was elected chairman of the Presidium of the Homeland Society.

Naim Tataliyev, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; El'mira Kafarova, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium; and Namik Akhundov, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Foreign Relations Department, participated in the work of the meeting.

Scientific Work on Chernobyl Sarcophagus Started

LD242352 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 24 Dec 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Chernobyl AES today. Our correspondent reports:

[Correspondent] The station has already generated more than 14 billion kwh of electricity since the accident. The first and second sets are operating rhythmically. The third set, which has recently been brought on stream, is building up capacity according to plan.

One year ago construction of the sarcophagus over the former fourth power set of Chernobyl nuclear station was completed. In fact, sarcophagus is the name given to it really by the journalists; (?here) it is described using the usual word, encasement [ukrytiye]. This immense radioactive crystal [kristall] is of particular interest to scientists.

Inside the encasement a multitude of sensors are in operation, describing the situation, which is stable and giving no worries or doubts at all. But in order to get

exhaustive—and unique in its significance—information on the processes within the crystal itself, it is possible to lay through to it a sensory corridor, through the barriers of rubble from the former walls of the set and the remnants of the equipment. This work is now being done by specialists from the No 605 Construction Directorate, which earlier built the body of the sarcophagus. [video shows a group of eight men wearing hoods, coats, trousers and gloves with facemasks and boots walking toward the set; Video shows one of these, identified by caption as A.I. Melnik, being interviewed; the camera gives us a closeup of the equipment handing round his neck]:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Aleksandr Ivanovich, will not this work to be done within the crystal give rise to any kind of undesirable consequences?

[Melnik] At the present time the crystal itself is sealed, and we will only conduct our observations through the biological wall. The drilling equipment that we will use to do this will be needed for us to get through the immediate barriers put up earlier.

[Correspondent] Is the sarcophagus not now having an effect on the environment, in the area of the station, in the zone, and perhaps outside the zone?

[Melnik] At present the sarcophagus, with all the installations that are called the encasement, is having exactly the same effect on the environment as the operational sets, and no more. It is in absolute accordance with the norms for radioactive safety approved in the Soviet Union. [end recording]

200 Foreigners, 30 Soviets Carry AIDS Virus

LD300937 Moscow TASS in English 0916 GMT 30 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 30 TASS—Some 200 foreigners and 30 Soviet citizens in the USSR were found to be AIDS carriers, Vadim Pokrovskiy, senior scientific worker of the Central Research Institute on Epidemiology said in interview with a correspondent of the Newspaper MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA. Most foreigners come from Africa. Sex with foreigners was found to be the main route by which the infection penetrated and further spread in the USSR. The AIDS cases are not necessarily linked with prostitution. Several AIDS cases involve Soviet women who were married or were going to marry foreigners.

Vadim Pokrovskiy added that the screening campaign involving nearly a million blood donors revealed only one AIDS case.

The epidemiologist reminded that the AIDS anonymous screening centre had been operating in Moscow for eight months now. It handled around 10,000 people, of them five Soviet citizens and ten foreigners were found to have AIDS.

"At present, we have several preparations which are capable of inhibiting the replication of the virus," Pokrovskiy continued. "These drugs cannot kill the virus but allow us to stop the process of replication. Thus people do not develop the disease and remain only AIDS carriers. However, 23 per cent of them will go on to develop AIDS within the five year period if no prevention measures are taken.

"New data has emerged of late," Pokrovskiy continued," proving the possiblity of creating an AIDS vaccine. I am sure that no one is in position today to say how long the vaccine will take to develop."

Supreme Court Plenum Discusses Drugs Issues

LD302023 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1859 GMT 30 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow, 30 Dec (TASS)—The regular plenum of the USSR Supreme Court has been held. Judicial practice with regard to cases of theft, illegal production, distribution and other illegal actions with narcotics, substances having a drastic effect, and poisonous substances, was discussed.

The plenum noted that the spreading of narcotics and toxicomania among minors and young people that has been recently noted, the increase in thefts of narcotics from pharmacists, warehouses, and medical institutions, and the production of homemade narcotics are causing special alarm.

For the purpose of activating the campaign against drug addiction, the plenum, in addition to interpretations given earlier, obliged the courts, in particular, to check when examining each case whether the investigative bodies had taken every possible measure to establish the sources from which the narcotics are acquired and the channels by which they are sold.

Sowing opium poppy, Indian, South Manchurian, South Chu, South Arkhonskaya and South Krasnodar Hemp, or any other crop banned from cultivation without the appropriate permit on any piece of land, including fallow land, is deemed criminal, regardless of the size of the sown area and subsequent shoots or sprouting of plants.

The matter of shortcomings in implementation by the courts of legislation providing for the confiscation of property in moonshine distilling cases was examined.

In connection with the law on state enterprise (association), which comes into force as of 1 January, the plenum examined the matter of amending the resolution of the USSR Supreme Court 21 July 1985 plenum "On the practice of application by the courts of legislation on cases of overreporting and other Distorted Accounting of Plan Fulfillment."

The plenum considered appeals to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court and the USSR Procurator General on court cases.

Workers Successfully Demand Director Retain Job
LD291329 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Kiev December 29 TASS—TASS correspondents Viktor Demidenko and Mikhail Melnik write:

The workers of the glass works near Kharkov (Ukraine) have secured the cancellation of an order issued by the republic's minister of industry and industrial materials on the dismissal of Aleksey Pedenko from the post of the director of the glass works.

The ministry wanted to relieve him of his duties as failing to cope with them. But the workers proved that it was the ministry which failed to meet its commitments to the glass works, and not the director, that was the cause of the troubles of the glass works.

What happened at the glass works is an example of how self-management is getting established in every-day life of Soviet factories. Although the law on the State Enterprise (Amalgamation), which grants extensive rights to the work collectives, officially enters into force on January 1, 1988, its elements are practised already now. This applies, in particular, to the elections of directors and shop superintendents or their removal from their posts.

The glass works near Kharkov is almost a hundred years old. There is a good deal of antiquated equipment. The works could not reequip the shops on its own. The management and the party committee of the factory applied to the ministry for help, and the ministry issued an order on the reconstruction of the works.

However, reconstruction remained on paper: No funds were provided for that. The works found itself in great financial straits.

The workers again applied to the ministry and recalled the minister's order. The ministry's reaction proved unexpected: Instead of rendering assistance, the ministry decided to dismiss the director.

The work collective did not agree to the decision. At the work collective's meeting, which was attended by representatives of the ministry, the workers proved that their director was a good specialist and administrator. The local soviet of people's deputies sent an inquiry to the minister with a request to explain why he had not verified the fulfilment of the decision on the reconstruction of the glass works.

Upon considering the inquiry at a session of the collegium, the ministry allocated funds for the reequipment of the works and canceled the order on the dismissal of the director.

'Tough Control' for Construction Industry Begun
LD291046 Moscow TASS in English 0919 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—The new year will see the introduction of a state quality control system for residential houses, kindergartens and creches in the Soviet capital. This will mark the first steps in establishing permanent and tough control over quality at all stages of construction—from laying the foundation and communications to finishing interiors and building amenities on surrounding territory.

This form of state quality control is already operating at many industrial enterprises. But unlike them, the construction process involves apart from the builder contractor other organisations as well. This explains why four out of six state quality control agencies, to become effective next year, will supervise the work of the main directorate for residential housing and two the work of its partners which belong to different ministries and departments.

The state quality control system will be also introduced at Moscow's wood working mill. Their products—parquet, doors and window frames—have been long criticised by builders and residents alike. A factory manufacturing lifts will come under similar control as will factories making ferroconcrete structures.

Unlike former controllers, the representatives of the state quality control agency will be present at a construction site from the day of laying the foundation to the day of acceptance of the whole building. Their task is to spot poor quality on time, reprove builders, instruct them to eliminate defects and to suspend work if their instructions are not fulfilled. The staff of the state quality control have the right, if need be, to make proposals on bringing officials to account.

Local soviets of people's deputies will now confirm an act on acceptance of buildings only after the approval of the State Quality Control Agency. The first to come under state quality control in 1988 will be houses built by two youth housing trusts in Moscow's suburbs.

Justice Ministry Meets on State Enterprise Law
LD282121 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] In the USSR Ministry of Justice, a conference has been held of deputy ministers of USSR ministries and departments and chairmen of commissions on matters relating to introducing economic legislation and departmental normative acts, in accordance with the Law on State Enterprise Association. Comrade Kravtsov, USSR

Minister of justice, spoke at the conference. There was discussion of the implementation of the directives of the June 1987 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on creating the necessary organizational and legal conditions of restructuring and management of the economy, and effective application of the Law on State Enterprise.

Plaque to Foreign Minister Litvinov Unveiled
PM301606 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 87 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "In Memory of the People's Commissar"]

[Text] A memorial plaque devoted to M.M. Litvinov, USSR people's commissar for foreign affairs in 1930-1939, was ceremonially unveiled on 22 December at No 2/6 Khoromnyy Alley in Moscow. He lived in this building from 1929 through 1935.

The plaque was installed following a decision of the USSR Government and Moscow City Soviet. It was created by architect N.A. Kovalchuk.

Leaders Sign Obituary of Ex-Minister Antonov
PM041529 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Dec 87 Second Edition p 6

[Obituary of Sergey Fedorovich Antonov]

[Excerpts] Sergey Fedorovich Antonov, personal pensioner of union importance, died suddenly on 28 December 1987 aged 77. [passage omitted]

From 1946 he held the posts of chief engineer, chief of main administration, party committee secretary, USSR deputy minister of the meat and dairy industry, and chief of department at the USSR Council of Ministers; in 1954-1958 he was USSR minister of the meat and dairy products industry, then deputy chairman of the Moscow City National Economic Council. Afterwards he was assigned to diplomatic work, spending 2 years as counselor-envoy at the USSR Embassy in the PRC, and was USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Afghanistan in 1960-1965. S.F. Antonov held the post of USSR minister of the meat and dairy industry from 1965 until 1984. [passage omitted]

From 1966 S.F. Antonov was chairman of the Board of the Soviet Society for Friendship and Cultural Ties with Afghanistan. [passage omitted]

Ye.K. Ligachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, V.P. Nikonov, N.V. Talyzin, V.S. Murakhovskiy, V.M. Kamentsev, B.Ye. Shcherbina, A.A. Yezhevskiy, N.F. Vasilyev, Ye.I. Chazov, I.I. Skiba, S.V. Chervonenko, Ye.I. Sizenko, P.A. Paskar, L.N. Yefremov, L.B. Yermin, V.M. Nikiforov, V.S. Konarygin, Z.N. Nuriyev, V.I. Demin, M.I. Polyakov, B.V. Markov.

Leaders Sign Theater Director's Obituary
PM311123 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 87 Second Edition p 3

[Obituary of Arkadiy Isaakovich Raykin]

[Excerpts] Soviet art has suffered an irreparable loss—Arkadiy Isaakovich Raykin, outstanding master of Soviet light entertainment, Hero of Socialist Labor, Lenin Prize winner, USSR people's artist, and artistic director of the Satirikon Theater has died in his 77th year. [passage omitted]

M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, A.A. Gromyko, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, A.N. Yakovlev, P.N. Demichev, Yu.F. Solovyev, D.T. Yazov, G.P. Razumovskiy, Yu.P. Voronov, Yu.A. Sklyarov, A.N. Aksenov, V.G. Zakharov, A.D. Lizichev, Ye.M. Chekharin, S.A. Shalayev, I.K. Arkhipova, R.M. Beybutov, A.A. Belyayev, Yu.I. Bogatikov, N.G. Bregvadze, O.N. Yefremov, Ye.V. Zaytsev, R.V. Zelenaya, L.G. Zykina, Yu.S. Karabasov, E.G. Klimov, I.D. Kobzon, K.YU. Lavrov, Yu.S. Melentyev, M.V. Mironova, I.A. Naumenko, S.V. Obraztsov, V.T. Saykin, N.I. Sats, G.A. Tovstonogov, M.A. Ulyanov, T.N. Khrennikov, I.G. Sharoyev, R.K. Shchedrin.

Editorial on Role of Ministries' Communists
PM300854 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 87 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Ministry Communists: Their Task Today—to Ensure the Sector's Successful Transition to New Forms of Economic Management"]

[Text] What is now of most concern to workers in any sector headquarters? It is not hard to answer that: The restructuring of the economy and the transfer of economic management to a new footing. This topic also predominates at the party report meetings taking place in the ministries and departments. The leitmotiv of many speeches is concern to accelerate the growth of all sectors of the national economy. The path to this end was mapped out by the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum. By mastering economic methods of management and developing the masses' creative activeness, it is necessary to turn the ministries in practice into the sectors' scientific, technical, planning, and economic centers.

It is not easy to do this—the former administrative style put down deep roots and experience of working in the new way is not great as yet. But where party organizations operate energetically, heading the struggle for renewal, encouraging developments can be seen. It is apposite to recall that ministry Communists have plenty of opportunities. Taking advantage of the right to monitor the work of the apparatus in fulfilling party and government directives, they can actively influence the preparations and course of the radical reform. The key to

success lies in the skillful selection and education of cadres, the heightening of their responsibility for the task in hand, and the strengthening of state discipline.

The topicality of this statutory requirement increases today in the light of the change in the very structure of the management apparatus and its substantial reduction; a difficult and often painful process, but one which is entirely necessary and urgent. At the same time, in some places it is being slowed down and even regarded as just another campaign: We'll just make a bit of noise, they say, and then everything will get back to normal. It has happened more than once. It is no accident that many people continue to "fight" for their own portfolio with a zeal worthy of a better cause. And who, if not the Communists, should, first and foremost, help everyone to realize that there can be no going back to the old ways, that this is no mere game of shifting officials from one chair to another, but a radical restructuring of economic management requiring different approaches in cadre policy too. Communists are called upon to set an example of a principled, party-minded attitude to this question, striving for the most important thing: that wide scope is assured for initiative from below and that the economic autonomy of enterprises grows and receives support.

The party organization of the Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry is taking useful steps. The sector's enterprises have been working in the new conditions for a year now. On a suggestion from the Communists, regular visits take place by groups of specialists and leaders, including the minister and his deputies, to the "tricky spots," where laggardness has been noted in the implementation of the reform. They do not go there to issue orders and do people's job for them, or for the sake of another "dressing down." The purpose is different: to get to the botton of the reasons for marking time, to help the collective to resolve key questions of development and organize economic education. This is done in close contact with local party and soviet organs. The ministry party committee attentively watches the results of the visits and discussed them at its session together with the aktiv. Instructive experience in restructuring also exists at other sector ministries nad departments. Every grain of this experience must be taken up today, there should be no departmental boundaries to progressive initiatives.

It is all the more necessary to remember this in view of the fact that in many sectors preparations for the radical reform are proceeding sluggishly, while party organizations, if not actually remaining aloof, can hardly be described as leading. What is hampering the restructuring? First and foremost, stereotypes of the old way of thinking, the inertia of a quiet life. Some specialists in the central apparatus are still passive, and sometimes display confusion in the face of the new tasks. They reason thus: Since enterprises are being given full autonomy, let them resolve all their own problems. On this fine-looking pretext in some places they are shutting themselves off from their functions and lessening their responsibility. They are not learning the sad lessons of those who, in going over to the new conditions of economic management, not only failed to achieve the anticipated progress, but even fell back. This happened, in particular, at the Moscow ATE-1 plant: It "hit a reef," and much of the blame for this, as was noted at the recent citywide conference in the capital, rests with specialists of the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry, which committed errors in planning and elaborating economic norms.

Using the entire arsenal of means of party influence, ministry Communists are called upon to set the tone for a creative quest and help every manager to become involved in the uncompromising struggle for renewal. You need only have a talk with some workers to arouse in them a sense of being the master and a desire to act more boldly and actively. Others find it useful to hear at a meeting about how they are participating in the transformations and whether they have let the moss of routine grow. And some lovers of a quiet life have to be called more strictly to account: How long will they go on sitting and waiting, safely entrenched? Many party organizations at ministries and departments skillfully make use of the certification of apparatus workers to increase activeness and mutual exactingness in the collectives and are pioneers of the use of effective moral and material incentive measures.

It is particularly important to step up the role of those sector management components which bear the main burden in developing planning work in the light of the new demands and in promoting the scientific, technical, and social growth of the enterprises. Those party committees and shop party organizations which help to reinforce such components with capable young cadres and the best specialists from other subunits are on the right track. Of course, here it is not enough merely to appoint someone to a post. It is necessary to help them with training and the search for a new work style and support a nonstandard approach to the task, orienting them toward the resolution of key tasks.

Among the urgent concerns as reform is approached is that of pulling up the laggards, first and foremost the loss-making and low-profit enterprises. In some sectors there are tens or even hundreds of them, but it is clear from the editorial mail that work with them is thus far poor. True, programs exist for cutting the numbers of economically weak enterprises, but many measures remain, alas, on paper. Although losses are often the result of the cost-based approach and a careless attitude to resources. How do the sector headquarters intend to transfer these plans and factories onto economic accountability and self-financing? This question may fairly be addressed to the ministry Communists: Why do they tolerate such cases?

The question of the economic and professional training of cadres—from the worker to the minister—is now particularly urgent. Here it is hard to exaggerate the role

of ministry party organizations. Relying on local support, they are called upon to head universal economic education in the sector and conduct it with proper scientific depth and in close association with concrete tasks. But how are things in practice? Warnings from on the spot indicate that workers at many ministries give little help in organizing targeted economic training, which does not always involve economic leaders and leading specialists or staffers from the sector scientific institutes and VUZ's. Even the study of the Law on the State Enterprise is sometimes formal and abstract, and it is no accident that in some places the preparations for its introduction were seen as just another campaign.

It is necessary without delay to rectify these errors, remembering that a high level of competence, a sound knowledge of economics, and a mastery of the new management methods are essential conditions of the success of today's transformations.

The Communists of ministries and departments are now endowing all their organizational and educational work with a new quality. Today this work can only be fruitful on condition that it is based in every respect on the initiative of millions of people and maximum consideration for society's needs. This is the aim toward which management specialists should be directed, and we should cultivate in them a creative approach to the cause and the capacity to take a long-term view, boldness and principle, and the ability to take responsibility for the future of the restructuring.

Nature of 'Unofficial Organizations' Discussed

PM041539 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Dec 87 p 4

[Interview with Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Yevgeniy Yegorovich Levanov, chief of the youth ideological and political education section at the Higher Cooperative School Scientific Research Center, by A. Afanasyev: "The Scientist Goes to the 'Unofficial Organizations'"—first paragraph is unattributed introduction]

[Text] To be honest, up until now I have had no opportunity to see for myself the soundness and thoroughness of Komsomol science. But now people say: "Just imagine! There was an interesting report at the seminar!" or "When the comrade from the Higher Cooperative School addressed the 'round table' discussion, it all became clear to everybody." Such opinions in our unexpected era— oversaturated with information—are, to put it bluntly, infrequent now. Even more, those who can analyze this tumultuous and unexpected period, and indeed who are capable of providing not categorical, but accurate and objective appraisals, can be counted on the fingers of one hand. For this reason, I telephoned. I arranged a meeting. And I now have sitting opposite me a stern-looking man. It is Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Yevgeniy Yegorovich Levanov, chief of the youth ideological and political education section at the Higher Cooperative School Scientific Research Center. His career portfolio contains apparatus work in the Komsomol, in a party raykom, and in a party obkom.

[Afanasyev] As far as I know, you only began to study unofficial organizations [neformaly] in 1985. Why? Were there no unofficial organizations before that time or was there no need to study them?

[Levanov] If I said there was no need, I would be lying. Unofficial organizations, or independent associations as we call them, have existed for dozens of years. There is a different reason. To put it mildly, no social order to do so had been received.

[Afanasyev] What do you mean, Yevgeniy Yegorovich?

[Levanov] Well, it is all simple. Social and state organizations for a certain time tried to limit their own and our activity to well-worked-out and well-oiled forms. But what has been well-worked-out is already worn out. It should be put in a museum. We should be proud of it and seek new channels for everyday reality, especially as in recent years this has started to change.

[Afanasyev] Everyday reality has changed, and there has been no opportunity to investigate the changes. Can this alone explain the stagnation in social sciences?

[Levanov] It partially explains it, though we admit self-critically that we ourselves lacked the boldness to come to close grips with life without sanctions and accords. When this happened, when information full of alarming figures was placed on this or that table, we often were told with displeasure: "Something is...wrong with your questionnaires."

[Afanasyev] I don't understand.

[Levanov] It probably was necessary to compile things like this, so that ultimately an optimistic picture automatically emerged.... In 1985, restructuring began and the situation changed. A Komsomol Central Committee team went to Rostov. Our section proposed examining unofficial organizations. We were given support and, here certainly, we did not miss our opportunity. We first conducted an investigation in Rostov, then Herson sociologists did the same in their city, according to our methods. On that occasion, over 1,000 people were questioned. A second opportunity presented itself following the 20th Komsomol Congress. This spring, our section was working in four major cities of the RSFSR; Moscow, Leningrad, Rostov-na-Donu, and Stavropol—also, for comparison, in the capital of Azerbaijan and Kaunas. Naturally, we conveyed the results of the research to the Komsomol Central Committee. Komsomol workers were familiarized with the figures, and materials which I cite here.

[Afanasyev] How many young people took part in the polls this time?

[Levanov] More than 1,500.

[Afanasyev] Do you consider this enough to make judgments about unofficial organizations throughout the country?

[Levanov] Well, you know, the famous Gallup institute as a rule questions no more than 1,000 people and conclusions, if we can describe them as such, are drawn for the whole of the United States....

[Afanasyev] Is there something to compare?

[Levanov] There is. The number of unofficial organizations has doubled.

[Afanasyev] Yes, the picture is by no means optimistic....

[Levanov] I would refrain from simplistic judgments. What are you afraid of?

[Afanasyev] I would phrase it differently: What are we being frightened with? I also have come across the following definition of independent associations—"nontraditional groups of teenagers and young people with an antisocial tendency." There seems to be presupposition; are they all antisocial?

[Levanov] Well, this definition, so to speak, makes its own task which is rather narrow but necessary to society: to prevent law violations. In general, according to our data, people in unofficial organizations break the law no more frequently than young people in general today.

[Afanasyev] And 2 years ago?

[Levanov] Although slight, there has been an increase. It cannot alarm us.

[Afanasyev] Who are these people?

[Levanov] They call themselves punks, hippies, lovers of the high life, Nazis, and Lyuberites.

[Afanasyev] Who are their most numerous adherents?

[Levanov] Pupils at vocational and technical schools.

[Afanasyev] What age?

[Levanov] Over 50% are under 17. Over one-third are under 20.

[Afanasyev] So, it is not only teenagers in the unofficial organizations. There are a considerable number of adults?

[Levanov] Teenagers? That, by the way, is one of the recent delusions. We only had to engage in the study for it to become clear immediately that we frequently do not have to deal with teenagers at all. The largest age group is between 25 and 35. A second delusion is to describe them all in the "negative." A third delusion is that an overwhelming majority of unofficial organizations meet to "have a good time" and to listen to music. We investigated peoples' motives for joining the associations. It turned out that "having a good time" is in next to last place for young people.

[Afanasyev] Those are the motives. What do the unofficial organizations actually do?

[Levanov] Although the press writes a great deal about this, only 0.3% are engaged in restoring historical and cultural monuments. A few more among those questioned take care of maintaining public order. Some 3.5 and 3.1% respectively take part in the national preservation and conservation movements. Some 4.2% are engaged in technical creativity and 5.3% in the movement for a healthy family; 9.7% discuss political questions; and 9.1% engage in sports and physical culture....

[Afanasyev] That's strange. There is far more point in engaging in cookery and gliding at the palace of culture, the club, or the specialized school. There is at least a base in those places, whereas independent asociations, as a rule, do not even have their own premises....

[Levanov] You see, that is an illusion. There is an acute shortage of clubs and specialized schools for young people.

[Afanasyev] Perhaps that is where the root of the problem lies?

[Levanov] Of course, but there are several such roots all told. The most serious and deepest are the static phenomena—the bureaucratization of public life and the emergence of gaps between social groups. Journalists' children go to the journalist faculty, artists' children to the Moscow State Institute of International Relations... There are also more general reasons: urbanization. And that brings alienaton along with it.

[Afanasyev] Cities are growing not only in our country, Yevgeniy Yegorovich....

[Levanov] I am thinking about that. For instance, in the FRG today, around 60% of the young people belong to independent associations.

[Afanasyev] Is that a constant level?

[Levanov] No, what do you mean! We are looking at considerable growth. In 1959, there were only 16% in the unofficial organizations there.

[Afanasyev] Incidentally, Yevgeniy Gegorovich, what was the picture in our country in the late fifties and early sixties?

[Levanov] I cannot cite figures. Quite simply, at that time, sociology as such had not yet emerged in the country. According to general assessments: Independent associations already existed, but in considerably fewer numbers. Another typical trait: Whereas now most associations are oriented toward building, creativity, and construction, the unofficial organizations of the sixties were typified far more by negation and unpleasantness.

[Afanasyev] So how do they live today? What gets them going? What do they discuss?

[Levanov] The problems are quite varied. The following live side by side and compete with each other for intensity of interest: quality of goods for young people (66), development of youth music (63.7), and problems of war and peace (61.6).

[Afanasyev] And what, for instance, about restructuring in the Komsomol?

[Levanov] Unfortunately, this topic is in 13th place. Just below that is the search for moral ideals, growth of officialdom, ecology, and protection of the country's monuments. Above that is the topic of loneliness, questions of sex, expansion of democracy, and creation of a family.

[Afanasyev] It is a complex and contradictory matter to relate to unofficial organizations today, Yevgeniy Yegorovich. What is your position?

[Levanov] I think assessments disagree not only because of a lack of coincidence of positions. It is quite clear that we still have not agreed on the subject of the dispute and the criteria. I, personally, am against prohibition—for there are other, far more effective means. It was stressed at our "round table" discussion held this spring at the Higher Cooperative School that it is not necessary to prohibit or to permit. For a start, it is necessary to interpret existing problems and to formulate them in such a way as to suggest ways of solving them, which will make young people not just want to but even come forward to solve them together with us.

This is what opinion polls we conducted showed. Only around 8% believe that restructuring is a matter for leaders, and not for ordinary people. In their opinion, 18% of the people in unofficial organizations already are taking part in restructuring. And more than 46% wish to take part. Only 25% have still not defined their attitude to restructuring. Virtually half of the independent groups believe that the successful completion of restructuring will help solve the main problems of youth. That is very important—our opinion polls did not record this viewpoint before!

[Afanasyev] Prohibition would be foolish. But the successful completion of restructuring, Yevgeniy Yegorovich, will also entail the extinction and disappearance of independent associations.

[Levanov] Why is it prescribed for them to be suppressed? What, is it really contraindicated for us to have a healthy social force protecting the purity of rivers and forests and maintaining in a decent state historical and cultural monuments—not because of official position but out of conscience? Or perhaps the bureaucrat is no good at reproduction and there is no need to develop and strengthen public awareness to preserve restructuring and make its results irreversible?

[Afanasyev] Well, if you think, Yevgeniy Yegorovich, restructuring opened up huge reserves of social energy.... This energy appears to many as frighteningly unfamiliar. We recently flung open exclusively front doors to it. And it operates democratically—both through the window and through the back door. We have fostered an "active life" position within the bounds of the workplace, forgetting or craftily passing over in silence the fact that genuine civic activeness even in principle must not be restricted within a "from and to" framework. A person will scarcely be able to be really active at the lathe or in the auditorium if he has no influence on the state of affairs in the shop, the institute, or the city. Incidentally, until recently 35% of young people believed that they were taking part in management. But in reality only 12-15% were taking part.... Restructuring has change dour concepts of activeness. Thousands of people are beginning to take part in democratization. Essentially a search is under way for contemporary forms of social organization, which was discussed at the party Central Committee January Plenum. Is it possible to see in these ranks the activity of those independent associations which are striving for socially useful aims?

[Levanov] Well yes, the Baku Association of Creative Youth, the Moscow Foundation of Youth Initiatives, and many others are already working today on restructuring. But let us not dwell on present-day significance. Let us look at everything that is happening from the standpoint of the future. We will see that approbation is coming, and the independent associations are fulfilling the role of laboratory.

[Afanasyev] But how should we regard the model of social relations that has emerged? Is it temporary or is this the future norm of relations? Should we see to it in advance and attach to these new relations a precise social and judicious form, protecting them both from spontaneity and bureaucratic voluntarism?

[Levanov] You know, to engage in making prognoses is an extremely thankless task. The only thing I can say is that one-sidedness in assessments of social phenomena has never yet resulted in anything good. Do we really need to put a stop to initiatives? Do we really need time limits? Is there really a need to force them into the framework of previously existing forms? Absolutely not. Otherwise, results would be quite different from what we expect today.

[Afanasyev] Incidentally, Yevgeniy Yegorovich, on the subject of time limits. Opinion is widespread that unofficial groups are by their very nature unstable.

[Levanov] That is another delusion. During the course of our investigation we became convinced of the opposite. Most of the associations have been operating for 2-3 years. After them are those that have been in existence for over 5 years.

[Afanasyev] And which groups are stable: the groups of schoolchildren, students, or pupils at vocational and technical schools?

[Levanov] No, not those groups. Over 40% of the engineering and technical workers questioned and around 25% of workers have been attending associations for 5 years or more. In these groups, virtually 50% of the people are in the 24-30 age range.

[Afanasyev] That is fully mature people?

[Levanov] Yes, and this shows yet again that we cannot treat the unofficial movement like a children's illness that will go away in time.

[Afanasyev] But how sincere are the participants in the research? Can we in general belive their replies unreservedly?

[Levanov] Well, as you realize, we do not ask "point-blank" questions. We duplicate questions. Naturally, the questionnaires are anonymous. It is a kind of guarantee—the so-called quota selections: We do not pick the participants in the poll. We do it like this: We take for instance the "A" or "B" 10th-grade classes in all the city schools. We do not divide the young people in advance into "difficult" and "easy". We work with all social groups, not only pupils or students.

[Afanasyev] Have opinion polls on unofficial organizations already been carried out in our country?

[Levanov] As far as I know, research has been conducted in Leningrad, but on teenage associations with an "antisocial tendency."

[Afanasyev] It is believed that independent groups one way or another are formed around a leader....

[Levanov] No, the presence of a leader—as we made clear—is not necessary.

[Afanasyev] But who are they in general? What qualities promote them to the foremost roles?

[Levanov] Most frequently men turn out to be the leaders. Approximately two-thirds are nonparty people. One-fourth are Komsomol members. Around 7% are Communists. The qualities?...competence, initiative, democratic characteristics, bold opnions, strong will.

[Afanasyev] And what about the material side: income and their distinctive "packaging?"

[Levanov] We ourselves were surprised, but the polls showed that for the majority of unofficial organizations the income of the leader and his clothing had no importance.

[Afanasyev] And what about the associations' external contacts with each other, with the Komsomol, with state organizations?

[Levanov] The associations are quite closely linked with each other. The most energetic contacts are in the under twenty age range, among pupils of vocational and technical schools.... I have already mentioned the "round table" discussions at the Higher Cooperative School, where the following figure was cited. In 1 year in our country there are over 80 different kinds of festivals, conferences, and rallies—outside of the official structure....Relations with the Komsomol are complex. According to our data, approximately one-fourth of unofficial organizations have turned to the Komsomol for help. Thirty% of them say that help was given. Schools groups have the fewest contacts with the Komsomol (9.9%). Pupils of vocational and technical schools (26.6%) go to the Komsomol most frequently for support. Almost 40% of unofficial organizations are ready to work with state institutions. Around one-third of them would like the associations to be recognized officially. And here, in the opinion of approximately 14% of the members of independent groups, official recognition is being obstructed by the passive position and—even—reluctance of some Komsomol workers.

On the whole, it can be said that yes, there are contacts, but the Komsomol itself must considerably strengthen and expand them. Curious incidents are still frequent. At the same "round table" discussion at the Higher Cooperative School, people described how in Riga the cultural administration and the Komsomol organs are seeking from cultural workers an increase on paper in the number... of unofficial groups. Or, here is an example from Moscow. A letter was received by the Komsomol city committee from the so-called "system." This unofficial association proposed that the city committee talk about cooperation. But the letter was forwarded... to the internal affairs organs. The opportunity was lost. And in the "system" the number of people believing in cooperation with the Komsomol was reduced....

[Afanasyev] I have come across the following unqualified assertion, Yevegniy Yegorovich: Activity in an unofficial association is incompatible with membership in the Komsomol....

[Levanov] But why on earth be so drastic? First, we must take account of the facts, and according to our data, more than half of those in unofficial organizations are Komsomol members. Second, those categorical people must not forget the decisions of the 20th congress and

must read more attentively the materials of the 2d Komsomol Central Committee Plenum. The report states in black and white: The fact that Komsomol members are registered according to place of work or study does not remove their right to satisfy their personal interests and inclinations in any association or public organization, if their activity does not contradict Komsomol statutes.

[Afanasyev] You said it was a thankless task to engage in prognoses. And yet what trends—albeit the most general of trends—can be traced toay? Or do the scientists still prefer to be cautious in their assessments?

[Levanov] No; after all, why? It is already apparent that the number of independent groups is growing considerably. The area of activity is also widening. And here there can be traced a clear trend toward more meaningfulness.

[Afanasyev] And the groups with an antisocial tendency?

[Levanov] Most probably there will be a decline. The reason is restructuring itself, the deepening of democratization, and the overcoming of stagnant phenomena in all sphere of our life.

Voss Makes Statement on USSR Anniversary

LD021908 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1540 GMT 30 Dec 87

[Statement "at the Microphone" by Avgust Eduardovich Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the founding of the USSR—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! A few weeks ago, progressive mankind marked the Great October anniversary. Seven decades divide us from those historic days when Lenin's party raised over the world the victorious banner of the socialist revolution, the banner of the struggle for socialism, freedom, and equality, against oppression and exploitation, poverty, and the denial of ethnic rights. The Great October cause was continued by the founding of the USSR.

In accordance with Lenin's ideas and with his direct participation, the concrete state and political institutions were established, which gave numerous people the possibility of living and working in peace and brotherhood. On the basis of full voluntariness and of full equal rights for all nations and ethnic groups, the single multinational union state was born. characterizing the nature of the socialist multinational state, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin said: We want a voluntary union of nations; a union that will not permit any use of force by one nation against another; a union based on the fullest trust, on a clear consciousness of fraternal unity, on fully voluntary consent.

Another outstanding thing Vladimir Ilyich Lenin did was to lay the theoretical foundation and achieve the practical construction of the Soviet Federation as a most important means of resolving the nationalities question and as the most desirable form of national and state arrangements, affecting the lives of Russian people.

All these fundamental Leninist ideas on the nationalities question were reflected and consolidated in the constitutional acts of the Soviet state, which included the basic principles of the Soviet authorities' nationalities policy. It was over the implementation of these policies that more than one generation of oppressed nations and ethnic groups, and more than one generation of revolutionary thinkers, fought. It is further credit to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin that he provided the scientific justification concerning the need for a very close union of Soviet republics in the struggle to solve the common problems of socialist construction in defending the homeland from imperialist enroachment. He saw as the guarantee of that union's strength the full mutual trust and voluntary agreement and the exlusion of any form of inequality in relations between the nations.

A whole epoch has passed since December, 1922, when the first All-Union Congress of the Soviets passed the declaration and treaty setting up the USSR. The results of the road we have travelled have irrefutably proved the correctness of Lenin's doctrine that only socialism opens the door to solving the nationalities question, and that the guiding force in this is the Communist Party. The years since then have been marked by the deepest changes in all the republic's economies and have seen changes in their social structure and the blossoming of socialist multinational culture. They have shaped the socialist nations that now form the new historic communality that is the Soviet people.

In the years of socialist construction, through the labor of Soviet people of all nationalities, a powerful economic base has been created in our country, as have many industries, a vast socialist agriculture, and advanced Soviet science. We have produced skilled workers and national economic specialists. The socialist transformation of relations between the nationalities and the establishment of friendship among the people are among the epoch-making achievements of socialism of which Soviet people speak with special pride.

At the same time, a characteristic trait of our time is sharp public reaction to the negative phenomena that have not yet been eradicated from relations among the nationalities, and active discussion of urgent questions and unsolved problems. By showing the unsoundness of the thesis that national processes are unproblematic, and by stressing that here, too, the new and progressive beats a path for itself through contradictions, the 27th CPSU Congress created conditions for a breakthrough in this area of social relations, too. We know relations between

nations and ethnic groups are not a frozen state of affairs, but a living process of complex interaction of the national and international in which the new is in constant struggle with the old.

The deformation of social relations associated with the period of stagnation also had its effect on national relations, and was a cause not only of the economic backwardness of individual republics, but also of the accumulation in them of unhealthy tendencies in national relations. Internationalist phraseology as a substitute for the real thing; resistance to overdue changes in social life; the jubilant campaign approach to publicizing the ideas of friendship and among people; the abundance of empty and tedious slogans and propagandist stereotypes; self-praise and flirting with people's nationalist feelings—these, no doubt, all formed the background against which ugly phenomena such as the Alma-Ata incident emerged.

The economic and social progress of the nations and ethnic groups naturally leads to a growth of national self-consciousness. This is promoted by the growth of glasnost and the process of democratization characteristic of the present period. But at the same time we know that national self-consciousness can develop either toward strengthening Soviet patriotism and the friendship of the people, or toward intensifying national parochialism or conceit. Everything depends on the degree and nature of the influence on these processes of the party and local soviet bodies.

In this connection, a complex problems arises that requires serious scientific analysis: How are we to provide, on the one hand, the necessary consideration for the national particularities of the people and, on the other, to follow Lenin's instruction that we are obliged to inculcate in the working people an indifference to national differences? After all, in the friendly and united labor kollektiv, people have for a long time now been judged not by nationality, but by their contribution to the cause of all the people, in which they are welded by common interests. The CPSU does not pursue a policy of assimilation of nations; its policy is the course toward the further flourishing and rapprochement of nations. In practical work, it is important to take more fully into consideration the requirements of all nations and national groups in matters of culture, language, newspaper and book publishing, and radio and television broadcasts.

Where questions of nationalities policy are viewed in ways other than on the basis of deep scientific analysis, exaggerations and distortions of the party's line inevitably occur. This often exacerbates national feelings and even friction between various groups, and revives old disputes among nationalities. As Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has noted, the tradition of our party, derived from Lenin, is one of special sensitivity and circumspection in all that concerns nationalities policy and touches on the interests of each of our ethnic groups and people's national feelings; and, at the same time, of principled struggle against national parochialism and conceit, nationalism and chauvinism, in whatever guise.

The Soviet people have before them a clear goal and outlook, namely the acceleration of socioeconomic development on the basis of the two closely interconnected trends of our development: democratization of all social life and radical economic reform. This is the essence of restructuring; this determines its destiny. The acceleration of our advance presupposes, in turn, the achievement of a situation in which the contribution of all the republics to the development of a single national economic complex accords with their increased economic and spiritual potential.

With the goal of ensuring dynamic development in our society, the June, 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum set the task of adopting a more attentive approach to the whole complex of the interests of personalities, of the kollektiv, of classes, nations and ethnic groups, social and professional groups, and the complex dialectics of their mutual relations. An important part of restructuring is the genuine harmonizing of interests—national, republican, of all people, and of the entire state. The party is elaborating new ways to influence people's interests, to educate and guide them both through the new mechanism of management and through democratic institutions, and through politics, ideology, and culture.

The idea is that instead of abstract discussion of internationalism, in general, we should determine ways to solve concrete problems in relations among nationalities. It is especially important to specify ways of increasingly strengthening the international unity of our country's people. The CPSU Central committee resolution on the work of the Kazakh Republican party organization toward the international and patriotic education of the working people stresses that today the timely resolution of problems in relations among the nationalities acquires the very greatest importance. Any manifestation of chauvinism or nationalism, national exclusivity, or arrogance must be regarded as an attack on the greatest aims of socialism, on the fraternal friendship of the people and the international unity of Soviet society. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin taught us to be internationalists in practice, and it is our duty to do so. At the same time, our whole experience shows that the only successful answer to nationalistic infections is a consistent and sustained internationalism, a full and comprehensive consideration of national interests. In our time, there is a growing interest in the historic past, monuments of national culture, folklore, and so on. But attached to this cause—sacred to every Soviet person, there are often those who would like to foment opposition among people based on nationality. The party opposes all manifestations of national exclusivity, be it chauvinism, nationalism, Zionism or anti-Semitism. Today we see that the shaping of firm internationalist convictions is inseparable from the resolute struggle against backwardness and manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. Nor should it be

forgotten that bourgeois-nationalist manifestations and negative phenomena of all kinds are being actively fanned by imperialist propaganda and bourgeouis ideologists. Suffice it to note the hostile radio propaganda in the national languages of our country's people that is expanding year by year; in particular, the large-scale character of the campaign aimed at the Baltic republics. As we know, in the summer, there were attempts there to provoke nationalist demonstrations. These gained no support from the people of the Baltic republics and were a total failure. Yes, our class enemies seize most avidly on any manifestations of nationalism or chauvinism, inflating and encouraging them for the purpose of, by whatever means, weakening the unity of our country's people. That is why the increasing of our efforts, the dethroning of bourgeois conceptions, the improvement of propaganda on the achievements of socialism and about the Leninist nationalities policy is one of the urgent and important tasks today. We see as a most important task of our ideological work the inculcation of a deep understanding of the communality of interests of Soviet people; the nurturing of a sense that all people in our country form a single family; the shaping of an international consciousness and national pride.

One would like to emphasize that the successful solution of the nationalities question in our country is arousing enormous interest throughout the world. It is being studied and actively used by the socialist and developing countries. The CPSU's Leninist nationalties policy and the actual historic practice of the national and social development of all the people of the Soviet Union is exerting an enormous revolutionizing influence on the modern world, serving as a bulwark of all the revolutionary and democratic forces. International in essence, that experience has long since become the heritage of all progressive mankind. It actively serves the lofty and humane goals of mutual understanding among people, national liberation, democracy, and social progress.

In conclusion, allow me, comrades, to congratulate you on our common festival, the 65th anniversary of the formation of the USSR.

Volobuyev Views History of October Revolution

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[Interview with USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member Pavel Volobuyev by Irina Solganik-Larina under the rubric "Soviet Press Review. Thoughts, Affairs and Concerns": "Mining Logic From History"]

[Text] The new approach to history will be one that rejects the former silence and distortions, for which the chroniclers were much to blame. We shall go back to the party principle of historical truth, and it is the truth of depicting not only some negative aspects and events, as people sometimes imagine, but the all-round truth.

Corr.: History has been corrected by all nations, at all times, beginning, probably, ever since Ancient Rome. Some people even believe that this is a normal and natural process. Is there any reason for news views on the history of the Soviet state, including the period of the October Socialist Revolution, which is your field?

Volobuyev: In principle, each generation accepts, looks at and assesses history, in its own way, and from this point of view the rethinking of history is a natural process. It is quite a different thing, when history is altered several times in the lifetime of one generation, as has happened up till recently. I think this doesn't add authority and confidence either to ourselves, or to the science of history.

As for the history of the October Revolution, I think it is high time to reject some of the old approaches to it.

As a rule, we package the October Revolution into boring schemes and canonize it, instead of seeing it as it really was—heroic and dramatic simultaneously, and sometimes tragic (it was tragic because the classes, parties, personalities, their ideas and slogans clashed at that unusually complex time). Whereas it wouldn't be so bad for us to remember that it was no one else but Vladimir Lenin who ridiculed those who made revolution into something nearly divine and started writing the word "revolution" with a capital "R." Another sin is that, over recent decades, film makers, and writers made pseudo-heroic pictures of the revolution which have little in common with reality.

I firmly advocate the leaving aside of such schemes and stereotypes. But I'm far from calling to jettison everything that had been written about the history of the October Revolution to date.

As I see it, the new approach to history will be in the rejection of the passings over in silence and distortions, for which the chroniclers were much to blame. We shall go back to the party principle of historical truth, and it is the truth of depicting not only some negative aspects and events, as people sometimes imagine, but of all-round truth.

Corr.: Which periods, or, maybe, problems in the history of the October Revolution need a new approach, in your opinion?

Volobuyev: There exists a whole package of problems which the historians are giving in a very simplified way. They include the question of the role in and the approach to the revolution of Russian intelligentsia. The prevailing belief is that the October Revolution was accepted, as it were, nearly at once by a half of the Russian intelligentsia, a quarter of it was neutral and anotehr quarter—inimical. In real life, however, it was all much more complex.

A considerable part of the Russian intelligentsia was really revolutionary minded, had waged a struggle against tsarist absolutism for decades, and had accepted the February Revolution with enthusiasm, as the implementation of its own ideals. But that was the February and not the October Revolution. Granted all its democratic mindedness, our intelligentsia was not ready to accept, nor could it have been ready to do so except the most revolutionary part of it which took a direct part in the October events.

When the people's masses rushed out to the limelight for the first time in history, the majority of intelligentsia got confused, quite reasonably fearing that these masses would smash the islands of civilization and culture, and would do away with the intelligentsia itself. Maksim Gorkiy, by the way, shared these fears, and had a very dim view of the October Revolution up till September 1918.

It took quite a long time to overcome the confusion and anger in the minds of our intelligentsia.

One other problem, which, in my opinion, demands a new approach, is the fate of petty-bourgeois democracy in the October Revolution. The historians are expounding this problem in the unilateral and superfluous way, which was proposed by Joseph Stalin—that, allegedly, at the time of the revolution, the main enemies of it were Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries (SRS), i.e., the petty-bourgeois democracy and not the bourgeoisie and its parties.

In their time the Bolsheviks cooperated with a faction of the petty-bourgeois democracy—the Left SR's, which was beneficial both for the Bolsheviks and the cause of the revolution. Lenin understood this very well. In the obituary "In memory of Proshyan", devoted to a Left SR leader, he gave its due to what Proshyan had done for the revolution.

The united revolutionary-democratic front, led by the proletariat, was set up at the time of General Kornilov's conspiracy and, thanks to that, the conspiracy was quickly suppressed. I'm speaking about these details because the question of alliance with petty-bourgeois democracy is of a very contemporary importance, I'd even say that at present it is one of the cardinal questions for the world Communist movement.

The history of the Russian Revolution took shape as follows—and, apparently, any other course of events was excluded—that in 1917-1920 the Bolsheviks and the petty-bourgeois parties turned out to be on different sides of the barricades. But still, the expereince of their cooperation at the time of the revolution proper—and it often happened at the time that enemies became friends for a day—is interesting and valuable now.

Corr.: We're speaking about giving full coverage of history. But many historical personalities are depicted in research papers and in school and institute textbooks as if in a distorting mirror—unlike themselves, primitive and odious. Let's say, Trotskiy—who is not a simple and a contradictory figure in our history—is seen by schoolchildren simply as a "bad man", the same as Bukharin, Rykov, Kamenev and Zinovyev, whose platforms and social projects we, essentially speaking, know quite poorly.

Volobuyev: The principle of historism must be abided by not only when analyzing phenomena and events, but when assessing historical personalities. We are putting ourselves into an unenviable position when we write boldly about the leaders of the Great French Revolution—Danton, Robespierre, Saint-Just and others—and pass in silence over the people in our revolution, including Trotskiy, Bukharin and Zinovyev, or characterize them as dyed-in-the-wool villains.

Each of the people you've mentioned was a major and not a usual person, with his own special view of revolution and post-revolutionary development in Russia.

I'm sure that Trotskiy was never a Bolshevik in his convictions, but being a revolutionary he could't but take part in the Revolution of 1917, and as a major Social Democrat he was admitted to the Central Committee.

As a politician Trotskiy was inclined towards administrative, military willpower and a style which liked to give orders.

His views, opinions and assessments were unstable and changed quite often. Lenin wrote that Trotskiy never had firm opinions on any serious question of Marxism, that he always "squeezed into the hole" of these or those differences, rambling from one side to the other. I am not saying that later on Trotskiyism brought a lot of harm or that Trotskiy had placed himself outside the party by the logics of inter-party struggle, and became anti-Soviet and was exiled from Moscow. In 1929 he was ousted, by the collective decision of the Central Committee, from the USSR.

Corr.: So it turns out that Lenin, who knew better than anyone the "sins" of Trotskiy, Kamenev, Zinovyev and Bukharin, still used them in leading posts, considered the struggle of opinions within the Party to be quite acceptable, or, at least didn't see anything criminal in it. Is that so?

Volobuyev: Lenin thought that the struggle of opinions within the Party was normal and natural, except for those cases when this struggle exceeded the limits of inter-Party democracy and led to factionalism. Whoever had different views from him, Lenin tried to persuade, not resorting to organizational conclusions, and, the more so, to "cutting heads".

What are the reasons for inter-party differneces and the struggle of opinions? One is that in revolutionary times history moves quickly and makes steep turns, due to which there often originates the difference between the theoretical concepts, which get obsolete at this time quicker than usual, and the new historical situation. Not all people manage to grasp this rift. It seems to me that this, to a large extent, explains the differences and arguments between the leaders of the Bolshevik Party.

Here's a well-known example: the Bolsheviks, including Lenin, adhered to the general formula that in case the proletariat takes over it would have to wage, in certain conditions, a war against world imperialism. But in 1918 the Soviet state had no strength for waging a revolutionary war and Lenin, realizing this, insisted on signing the Brest Peace Treaty with Germany.

But Bukharin and the other leftists, guided by the old Bolshevik formula, were demanding to start a revolutionary war. Therein was their confusion and their tragic mistake.

Corr.: What, in your opinion, was Stalin's concept of the October Revolution?

Volobuyev: Stalin's main idea was the idea of "two leaders" - himself, Stalin, and Lenin, who had led the revolution. Another main idea in Stalin's concept of the October Revolution was the theory on the existence within the party leadership of inveterate villains and dyed-in-the-wool traitors.

And, if the first idea - that of the "two leaders" - was discarded back in 1956, after the 20th Party Congress (Academician Boris Ponomarev merits a lot of personal credit for exposing the falseness of this concept), then the second has not been overcome to the end as yet and continues to function in our historical literature.

Corr.: You're criticizing Stalin's schemes and concepts, but how do you assess Stalin's activities in general?

Volobuyev: It is a difficult question for me. In my time (like my entire generation), I was blinded by him and I was a "Stalinist". Now, when a lot of time has passed since the 20th Party Congress, everything is naturally seen differently.

First of all, I must say that we must differentiate between the different stages in Stalin's life and activities. The Stalin of the 20s is one thing, of the early 30s - another, and still another - of the late 30s-early 50s, when he managed to establish the regime of his personal power.

I think (the same as Academician Aleksandr Samsonov), that Stalin was responsible for our losses in 1941-1942. But at the same time I think that his rigid exactingness, his fortitude, iron will, and his indisputable authority played a positive role in the outcome of the war.

Stalin's personal guilt in the massive repressions is obvious to me.

At the same time I think that some of Stalin's theoretical works of the early 20s retain their significance to this day, although, in general, Stalin was prone to schematize and dogmatize Lenin's views on cardinal problems of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The transformation of the weak, underdeveloped Russia into the large modern state is connected, when all is said and done, with Stalin's name. As I see it, this transformation was brought at too dear a price due to Stalin's mistakes and miscalculations.

Corr.: The ideas of the cult of a "strong personality" are popular among the young people, and also among elder people, too. What is the explanation for that in your opinion?

Volobuyev: This is a complex question and there's probably no simple answer to it. As I see it, the "leader" sentiments were a reaction to the stagnation in our society which have been condemned now.

We must also take into account historical roots and the features of social psychology - you see, Russia had no democratic traditions till 1917 and down to World War I monarchistic illusions and faith "in the tsar" were very strong in the people.

At the same time I think that this inclination towards strong leadership contains healthy elements. No party, no revolutionary movement and no country can do without authoritative and political leaders. And the masses, if you like, feel this by instinct, especially in our complex and responsible time. It is quite different if a cult of personality is established of one of the leaders, or, even worse, when the regime of his personal power is put up - the Party has very strictly condemned the cult of Stalin's personality.

Writer Interviewed on Collectivization

PM290841 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 51, 20 Dec 87 p 11

[Interview with writer Sergey Antonov by Olga Martynenko: "Across the Ravines"]

[Text] The January and February issues of the literary monthly, DRUZHBA NARODOV (People's Friendship) will carry Sergey Antonov's new long story, "Ravines", set in 1929, the year of great change, and the spring of 1930. Platonov, the central figure, is a worker sent to the countryside along with 25,000 Party members to consolidate the link between town and country. He takes with him his 13-year-old son Mitya whom the Soviet readers know from Antonov's earlier stories, "Tsarist Twenty-Kopek Piece" (1970) and "Vaska" (written in the early 1970s, published in 1987).

"Ravines" is another example of rural prose's growing attention to the early stages of the collective-farm movement, a topic which was until recently taboo. Earlier this year, a sequel to Vasiliy Belov's "The Eves", Boris Mozhayev's "Country Men and Women," and Andrej Platonov's "The Foundation Pit were published. The latter was written in 1930 when, according to Stalin, peasants began joining collective farms not by separate groups, but by "whole villages, volosts and districts".

Sergey Antonov's story describes the peak of these events rather than their eve. The crackdown on the kulaks, peasants' mutinies, the first steps of collectivization—all those events predetermined the rural population's lot for decades to come. He describes the tragic picture in merciless detail, making it yet another of literature's lessons to historians. Writers are breaking fresh ground "by right of memory", following Tvardovskiy's precept: "Who hides the past is not likely to come to terms with the future..."

With his story "Vaska", about the construction of the Moscow Metro in 1934, Sergey Antonov re-established and built up his popularity won in the 1950s and 60s. Yet, the writer is very critical of his early work, regarding his approach to the period as naive and superficial and saying that he saw the light only after the 20th CPSU Congress. A man with the experience of two wars (the Finnish and WWII) behind him, he has the courage to admit that he used to quail before dramatic situations. He believes that the strength of literature lies in its power to foresee the future, and quotes Platonov's prophetic "The Foundation Pit" which reached us almost 60 years too late.

[Martyneneko] "Ravines" fills in the time gap between "Tsarist Twenty-Kopek Piece" set in 1927, i.e., the NEP period, and "Vaska" describing the industrialization drive. Presumably the idea of your new story was not just to "link up" your characters' biographies.

[Antonov] My idea was this: to this day we have had problems with agriculture. In my opinion, the root of the trouble lies in the fact that we tried to extend industrial methods to agriculture. The family has always been the production unit in the rural economy. Peasants have always stuck to the production arrangement we now call the "family contract". This is an eternal rather than an archaic concept. The American farm is fundamentally a family contract, too.

The rural family is very good at manoeuvering and adjusting to changing circumstances. The working education we are talking so much about is received in the family from an early age in direct and natural connection with the final results of one's work.

Collectivization was of course necessary. Its roots go down to the ancient rural community cemented by family ties. But we got down to things in a hurry and confusion, and destroyed the family right away. On a collective farm, especially under a poor manager, the head of the family lost all his rights and did not know how to provide for his dependents. Hence the economic and moral damage to the family. Hence the peasants' desire to get rid of dependents by sending children up to town in the hope that they would make a living on their own. That was the end of an eternal order of things.

[Martynenko] One of your characters in "Ravines" reasons more or less like this: "Collective farms make sense. They are akin to rural communities and suit the Russian peasantry. But peasants are reluctant to join the collective farms. Why? Because the collective farms are forced on them by higher authorities acting in a muddled manner. Where there's a muddle, there are crooks and looters, squandering and robbery of peasants' property."

Do these ideas date back to that period of the present day, so full of pondering and experience?

[Antonov] Of course they come from that period. People then also had to think hard about how to organize life on collective farms. Peasants ran individual households, but the cillage sought to resolve certain problems by concerted effort. For instance, there was one shepherd to look after the village herd. There was a tradition of helping out the families who lost their breadwinner, etc. There was an innate sense of social justice, too. People wouldn't tolerate unfair methods of getting rich. In some villages, the houses of kulaks were set on fire, so a rich man would build his house in between two poor ones. Nikolay Gavin-Mikhailovskiy wrote about that in a book of essays, A Few Years in the Country.

Rural communies emerged immediately after the Revolution with the idea of tilling the land together. There were collectivization enthusiasts who thought about its benefits years before the mass drive for collective farms began.

[Martynenko] After reading your manuscript, I turned to "Problems of Leninism" to try and understand Stalin's position on collectivization. While fulminating against his opponents, he presented their platform very clearly and so the alternative to his own views is clear enough. What was this hasty all-out collectivization needed for? Why should there be such extortions from peasants, under the policy that Bukharin called the "military-feudal exploitation of the countryside"? The tax in kind which in 1921 replaced the surplus-requisitioning system proved that the peasant would rather feed the country of his own free will than at gun point.

[Antonov] I think Stalin sincerely desired to create model agriculture within the shortest time possible. There is a chapter entitled "The Utopians" in my story where a collective farm manager dreams aloud about the "Red paradise", a heart-warming but unrealistic picture of a future life. Something like that must have existed in Stalin's mind. But experience showed that Utopian dreams were more primitive than real life.

Theoretically, Stalin's reasoning was right. He understood that the idea of collectivization was right. In Problems of Leninism he repeatedly quoted Lenin, seemingly to the point and with good reason. But when his theories were applied in life, things went wrong. Living human beings are not mechanisms which can be readjusted dozens of times. The farmers ought to have been given time to sort things out, to understand, in their own good time, why the theory did not work. But Stalin preferred the coercive measures. Theoretically, he was right: the sabotage of the kulaks and their supporters had to be crushed. But in practice, his thesis led to the extermination of middle farmers.

[Martynenko] One of the most impressive scenes in your story is that in which Chuguyev, a former Red Army commander, an able mechanic and chairman of a farmers' association, is being dispossessed as a kulak. What crying injustice! Tikhomirov, another dispossessed farmer, is not a parasite with a gun either. On the contrary, he is a true farmer and a born leader who could have attracted his fellow-villagers to the collective farm. Why haven't you shown the classical bloodsucker of a kulak?

[Antonov] The fact is that after 1920 the classical kulaks whom Lenin characterized as "the most brutal, callous and savage exploiters" were practically non-existent, exterminated as they had been by the Kombeds (the committees of the poorest peasants) after the Revolution.

When the all-out collectivization drive began, the authorities allotted quotas of farmers to be dispossessed (from four to five per cent). Nobody knows where the figures came from. By dispossessing people like Chuguyev or Tikhomirov, the foundation of rural life was being undermined, the gene fund of "industrious" peasants was being destroyed—the very type of able muzhiks, loyal to the land, on whom Lenin counted in his plans. Enterprising and industrious, those people had proved their worth when the New Economic Policy was introduced.

They were liquidated "as a class", banished to the North. Naturally, the collective farms did not get any better for that. Famine started, mutinies and unrest began.

On March 2, 1930, Stalin's well-known article, "Dizzy with Success", appeared, which mentioned deviations and excesses, and the violations of the principle of voluntary membership in collective farms. The article did little good. First, because it was untimely (it was published when the sowing campaign was in the offing), and secondly, because it was provocative. The peasants who had left collective farms on a perfectly lawful basis got labelled as "villains", as covert supporters of the kulaks, and became the targets of reprisals. That was the ultimate tragedy.

[Martynenko] What has to be done today? This question does not come from me. About a month ago, it was formulated in a letter to PRAVDA by Terentiy Maltsev, a veteran farmer. His own answer is this: "Society must come to terms with the muzhiks. The Russian ploughman has never been an idler. He used to get on well with his land and Mother Nature. Let the peasant in him be revived".

[Antonov] It is not up to a novelist to issue instructions to agricultural workers. Conscious effort is needed in every workplace. At present, conditions are being created for a vigorous upturn in agriculture. The family contract is being revived. Although mechanization leaves much to be desired, poor machinery could last three times longer if it were taken good care of.

What we need most of all are good managers. A collective farm chairman must be a real leader of the rural community, and a respected citizen. He must see to it that good work pays. The recipe is very simple: each must get remuneration according to one's work.

[Martynenko] Some 30 years ago Aleksandr Yashin wrote this in his story, "The Levers": "Say openly what's wrong—and the people will move mountains for a straight word." Don't you think this is very true today?

[Antonov] Absolutely. People respond with all their heart to the truth. The truth, however bitter, edifies people.

Great changes are taking place in the spiritual makeup of our society. Both in the country and in town people have begun speaking openly to express their various points of view. These are being published and paid attention to. A fundamentally new, wholesome moral atmosphere is being created, in which everyone can assert oneself as a personality. This is how it should be—otherwise time would stand still.

IZVESTIYA Circulation Up From Past Year

LD041214 Moscow TASS in English 1107 GMT 4 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—The newspaper IZVESTIYA is one of the most popular publications in the Soviet Union. This year, its daily circulation is ten million. 9.5 million copies are distributed through subscription.

The number of IZVESTIYA readers has increased compared with the previous year by 2.5 million.

The circulation of nearly all Soviet central newspapers has noticeably increased in 1988 [year as received]. According to public opinion, these publications have become advocates and mouthpieces of glasnost, or greater openness, and perestroyka (restructuring drive in Soviet society).

Moscow Television in 1988 Previewed

TB301626 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0100 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Television next year: As reported by Comrade Kravchenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosteleradio, a good many innovations await us from 1 January. The First Program will start work half an hour earlier than at present at 0630 [0330 GMT] and "90 Minutes" beloved of listeners will become "120". Attempts have been made to take more fully into account on television the interests of viewers who work shifts—the best evening programs and most important sports matches will be repeated for them in the mornings. Of course, the programs devoted to problems of management and to general economic situation in the country—the titles "Pulse", "On the Roads of Radical Reform", "Let's Study Democracy", and "Consulting You"—will also have their audience and people will correspond with them—all this is experience accumulated, interpreted and crystallized; the viewers themselves will indicate where to go for it. A program has been thought up "Komsomol—Time to Act" as an accumulator of all the best that is coming to light in the sphere of young people. The evening channel for young people will be reinforced—for which "Vzglyad" [view, opinion] was the prototype, which proved very popular. As of the new year the program will go out twice a week.

The second channel will soon appear completely renewed. Amongst its many programs it is possible to pick out that which has not been seen before—"Domestic Academy" [Domashnyaya Akademiya]. This is designed as an encyclopaedia of family life. No doubt it would have been possible to start a conversation on the innovations of'88 with the first, holiday programs but let them be a surprise. Just switch on the TV and watch.

Briefs

New Town

A new town has appeared on the map of Tomsk Oblast. This status was received by the settlement of Kedrovaya, located in the center of the oil recovery region. Builders of the Severstroy trust are erecting it, taking into account the social, cultural, and consumer services requirements of the inhabitants. The houses here are being built with all conveniences. A club, school, and other facilities have been built, including a runway capable of handling large aircraft. [Text] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 4 Jan 88 LD*]

New Magazine Published

The first issue of the magazine POLITICAL EDUCATION [POLITICHESKOYE OBRAZOVANIYE] has come out. In accordance with the decision of the CPSU Central Committee on the restructuring of the system of political and economic instruction of the working people, the magazine has changed its name and will appear more often. Readers will receive it 18 times a year. [Text] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2100 GMT 2 Jan 88 LD*]

Public Health Expenses

Moscow January 4 TASS—State appropriations for public health in the USSR will make up 21,700 million roubles in 1988 or much more than in the previous year. Provision is also made for additional outlays (1,200 million roubles) for purchase of medicines, their free issue to some sections of population and better feeding at hospitals. All types of medical services for population are free of charge in the USSR. [Text] [*Moscow TASS in English 1016 GMT 4 Jan 88 LD*]

New Settlement in Tomsk

A new settlement, Kedrovskiy, has sprung up in Tomsk Oblast to house the oilworkers of the remote Narym taiga. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 28 Dec 87 LD*]

New Family Journal

SEMYA, a new paper, will be published in the new year. (Sergey Aleksandrovich Abramov), its editor-in-chief, says that SEMYA [FAMILY] will deal with family matters, children, stories, and so on. Medical and legal advice will be also published. The first issue will be published on 6 January and then every Wednesday. This weekly paper will have 16 pages. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Dec LD*]

Arts Awards Presented

Diplomas and badges of honor were today presented in the Kremlin's Sverdlovskiy Hall to the winners of the 1987 USSR state prizes in the fields of literature, arts and architecture. The chairman of the USSR State and Lenin Prizes Committee, Georgiy Markov, presented prizes to writers Valentin Rasputin, Yuriy Mushketik, and Yuriy Davydov, and to poets Yevgeniy Vinokurov and Igor Shklyarevskiy. Vladimir Vysotskiy was awarded a prize posthumously. The diploma and the badge of honor were presented to his parents. State prizes have been won by the documentaries "Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov: Pages from Life" and "Mikhail Romm: Confessions of a Film Director", and by the authors of the feature films "Dream Flights", by the Dovzhenko Studio, and "Games for School-Age Children", by the Tallinfilm Studio. The winners include USSR People's Artist Nikolay Slichenko, USSR People's Artist Geliy Korzhev-Chuvelev, RSFSR Distinguished Artist Mark Zakharov, USSR People's Artist Saulyus Sondetskis, and the architects and builders of the sports and concert complex in Yerevan and the historical part of the city of Tbilisi. [Text] [*Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Dec 87 LD*]

TV Groundstation Commissioned

Magadan—A groundstation for "Moskva" satellite television has been commissioned in the Even village of Topolovka on the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk. It is the 17th such station constructed this year in Kolyma and Chukotka. [Text] [*Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 2*]

Economic

Tolstykh Interviewed on Economic Reform

LD311801 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1600 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Interview with Boris Leontiyevich Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, by L. Voznesenskiy; from the "On The Roads of Radical Reform"]

[Summary] [Voznesenskiy] Hello, comrades! We are continuing our meetings with leaders of the basic economic ministries and departments in connection with the transfer on 1 January next year to the new principles of management. Today we are the guests of Boris Leontyevich Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology. Recently published statistics show that the proportion of new products being adopted has risen toward the end of this year, whereas it had been falling during 1985, 1986 and the first 9 months of 1987. What is behind this?

[Tolstykh] After the April 1985 plenum changes meant steering a course of higher quality, thus many developments of poor technical quality were dropped. Also, changes in technology mean whole systems are being developed rather than isolated items, and the systems are counted as a single new product.

[Voznesenskiy] So it may come about that fewer developments actually bear greater fruit?

[Tolstykh] Yes.

[Voznesenskiy] In this connection I would like to recall that, speaking in July on central television you then emphasized a fundamentally important thought: to the effect that the State Committee for Science and Technology is sharply intensifying the economic thrust of its activity. It can be said that in this respect something has already changed to a certain extent in your committee's work.

[Tolstykh] That can be said.

[Voznesenskiy] How exactly?

[Tolstykh] It cannot be said, of course, that we have achieved a position which would suit us. But it can be noted that this work has indeed become a constant constituent in the work of the Committee for Science and Technology. We now have a special subunit. It is a very small one comprising a few people who are working very closely, very harmoniously, and in a very well-coordinated way with other central economic departments, Gosplan, the Finance Ministry, and the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems. They are resolving methodological questions and are now carrying out tremendous organizational, explanatory work. They themselves are studying and raising their qualifications. This is indeed very serious everyday work which is being carried out now by the committee. It is now connected in the first place with the introduction of financial autonomy in science.

Apart from the rendering of assistance, consultations, the drawing up of these methodological documents, much work is being done on analysis: How is this mechanism proceeding; what tendencies are there as the new economic mechanism is being introduced in scientific institutions. We have set about working full tilt on the classification and the exposing of positive processes and negative moments in various forms of integration of various sectors of science, of science with production. There, too, there is an immense lot of problems. We are now trying to get to the bottom of this task in order to single out the obstacles, to remove them, and to open the road to progressive new forms.

[Voznesenskiy] What is happening, and what is supposed to happen concerning financial autonomy in scientific establishments?

[Tolstykh] We have already issued a resolution on how it is to be implemented.

[Voznesenskiy] What's it called?

[Tolstykh] On the transfer of scientific organizations to complete financial autonomy and self-financing. From the new year almost half of the scientific research institutions and organizations, more than 2,500 of them, are going over to work on these principles, financial autonomy and self-financing. So there you are. A very complex process is in progress."

Our first task is to improve people's knowledge of the economic principles involved. Many establishments have prepared well, for example the Experimental Research Institute for Metal-Cutting Machine-Tools [ENIMS], the main institute under the Ministry of Machine-Building Industry. There they have worked out how much custom they need, how the funds will be generated, and how they will be distributed internally. However, many establishments have not prepared so well, and the pooling of experience in this matter is also not too good. The resolution says they must hold consultations about how they will implement the change.

We have not had as much time to prepare for it as industry, so we need very energetic measures now. Staff of the state committee are maintaining contacts with ministries and industry and are attending meetings to help keep the process moving and to resolve problems.

[Voznesenskiy] A viewer from Noginsk asks how direct ties between industry and science are to be effected.

[Tolstykh] ENIMS again is a good example. Previously its work had been somewhat dissipated, because it had 49 projects to work on, and it is impossible to do this with high quality. Now it will not just receive money and be told to pursue with research pure and simple, it will have major projects that will be producing real results, and it will have to show that what it is working on will be of benefit to enterprises.

[Noznesenskiy] The new management system may bring the death sentence for establishments which cannot keep their developments up to the required standard. What do you do with a scientific research institute which today, for some objective reasons, still cannot attain this standard, but it is quite obvious that tomorrow that they have to attain this standard, and will attain it, but need some period of time still before they mature to this? Will any help be given them when it is quite clear that the country has need of their work?

[Tolstykh] The resolution covers this point; if no one needs an establishment's work, if it is not bearing fruit and steps taken by higher administrative levels do not work, the organization will be wound up. We need to approach this intelligently. Great courage is needed. They may be supported, but such support, I think, must not turn just into sinecures and some kind of handout. So the ministry will have to listen carefully to the explanations and listen to the steps proposed by the institute. After all, the collective of the institute or design bureau doesn't want itself to fall apart, and of course they will propose some steps. The institute or design bureau has to adopt obligations, to enhance the standard of developments, the minor projects, to concentrate their efforts on these things, and then the higher authority may provide support, make orders and finance them, since the direct clients do not yet have faith in their efficiency. It can give them a certain time but, I'm sorry, if you are successful, you get due praise, and if you're not successful, then there will definitely be some more resolute measures.

I'm not saying that it definitely has to be disbanded. It may begin with partial measures, some organizationa measures may be adopted. In general, every specific case will have to be dealt with, taking into account the specific situation, the specific circumstances. Of course, we cannot approach it with a yardstick that everything has to be done in one fell blow.

[Voznesenskiy] What would you like to say in conclusion?

[Tolstykh] There is still a lot of work to do. We must improve people's economic education and skills. Several decisions have been drafted, on improving qualifications and training and on economic ties, and are to be issued soon. We are studying foreign experience to see if we can gain anything useful from there. We need to prepare well, to inspire confidence, and to clear up the questions that arise. People must be motivated by wanting to achieve more both for the state and for themselves. The competitiveness of products must be increased.

[Voznesenskiy] The key to success is in combining technological progress with other economic and social factors. Thank you for the interview.

Kulikov Discusses Roles of Market, Planning

PM041107 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 50, Dec 87 (Signed to Press 3 Dec 87) p 15

[Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Kulikov article under the rubric "Questions of Theory": "Planning and Commodity-Money Relations"—boldface passages as published]

[Text] The long-standing debate on problems of commodity-money relations has reached a crucial stage. The CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum elaborated a principled theoretical formula regarding the dialectical unity of planning and commodity-money relations and their mutually complementary nature within the integral system of economic management.

But the essence of the approach which has been the theoretical expression of prevailing practice and has dominated literature and the thinking of economic managers for many years is different. This approach is typified by a combination of recognition of commodity production under socialism with a denial that it is retained in terms of real commodity content. Consequently, the recognition of commodity production was largely formal. It was only by adhering to this approach that the practice of economic management could be taken to a point where, despite the fact that the law of value was acknowledged as the law governing prices, prices were in fact divorced from the socially necessary expenditure of labor and credit became virtually budget financing by another name, losing—as the 27th CPSU Congress emphasized—its true purpose.

The formal recognition of commodity production, while effectively denying the real commodity nature of its categories, eliminated the problem of ensuring the dialectical unity of planning and commodity-money relations. In these circumstances, the problem appears unimportant and even farfetched. In actual fact, however, it is real and extremely complex, as testified by even the first steps along the path of stepping up the utilization of commodity-money relations, which prompted a whole series of questions. They include, in particular, the following: Will not the transfer of the planning of a

significant proportion of output to enterprises themselves lead to lack of coordination in their activities, to a failure to meet the targets set for the national economy, and to price rises? Nor is it an accident that the stepping up of commodity-money relations within the framework of the planned management system has recently been likened to attempts to combine different blood groups. A medical analogy is no worse than any other. So we will also use one. Even people with absolutely no knowledge of medicine know that the problem of compatibility is recognized as one of the most complex problems. But medical scientists do not give up in the face of the problem of compatibility but try to solve it, and have already scored remarkable successes along this path.

In a similar fashion, the entire course of the development of the theory and practice of socialist economic management brought to the fore the question of ensuring the dialectical unity of planning and commodity-money relations. Social consciousness found it difficult to realize that dialectics is dominated not by the principle of "either-or" but by the principle of "both-and," and economists are reluctant to retreat from their entrenched positions.

What are the ways to achieve unity of planning and commodity-money relations? This is one of the main questions of the restructuring of the economic mechanism now under way.

The answer to this question can be extremely brief: It is necessary to eliminate the ideology of allocation from the theory and practice of socialist economic management. It was this ideology, which established itself in the plan management of the economy in the late twenties, that led to planning on the basis of the level already achieved (allocation of plan targets for production), to quotas in material and technical supply (allocation of resources), to increasing redistribution of income via the center (allocation of payments to the state budget), and to plan fulfillment at any cost. With the passage of time, the redistribution principles in society reached such vast dimensions that the principle of "first let's strip the enterprises, then think about how we're going to clothe them" started having not a metaphorical but a very tangible effect. In this version of the planned economic management system, commodity-money relations are doomed in advance to purely formal recognition and a purely formal role.

At the same time, the thesis of the need to overcome the ideology of allocation in the planned economic management system needs amplification. What primarily arises is the question of centralism and independence, of the new concept of centralism. According to this concept, centralism cannot be effective without independence at all levels of economic management. Plan management in no way boils down to centralism. The specific feature of such management in no way lies in the claim that it eliminates economic management at the level of the economy's individual components. Its specific feature lies elsewhere, namely in the incorporation of such economic management within a complex hierarchical structure with unified economic management on the scale of all social production. As in other cases, this is governed not by the principle of "either-or" (either centralism or independence) but by the principle of "both-and." This makes it clear that not only the question of limits on independence but also the question of limits on centralism is specific to socialism. In reality, neither question exists without the other, they are two sides of the same coin.

Furthermore, the new concept of centralism proceeds from the premise that the expansion of independence at all levels of economic management is possible in principle and, in contemporary conditions, also necessary when centralism is stepped up.

This conclusion, which is fundamental, also presupposes a new understanding of the force of centralism: It depends not on the number of issues taken over by the center but on the quality of those issues and the competence of decisions made on them. If the center takes over a constantly expanding circle of questions, which is the direction in which it is invariably pushed by the logic of allocation, it is increasingly often forced to automatically "rubberstamp" any suggested decisions. This appears to be a stepping up of centralism, but in reality is just a kind of "plan unruliness" accompanied by bureaucratization of management and weakening of centralism. As emphasized at the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum, centralism in the new interpretation possesses incalculably greater force than centralism bogged down in attempts to regulate absolutely everything. To ensure limits on both centralism and independence which actually match the state of contemporary production is an essential condition for ensuring unity of planning and commodity-money relations.

Another important condition connected with the first is the **"multiformity" of national economic planning.** Under the logic of allocation it was reduced to the setting of direct directive targets from above and became "uniform." With the passage of time, this variety of national economic planning became accepted as the only possible kind.

Having initially produced certain positive results, this variety of national economic plan later became increasingly divorced from the actual course of economic processes. In conditions where there is a growing need to boost the economy's dynamism, national economic planning must be made more flexible, combining directive targets with plans-cum-orders [plany-zakazy] and planning at enterprises on a contract basis. But today we have no clear answer to the question whether the term "state order" is not used as just another name for directive planning. If old practices are simply given new names, no substantial changes can be expected. In actual fact, state orders are a special form of planning substantially different from its directive form. Its specific feature lies in

the fact that, when state orders are placed, account must be taken of the reciprocal responsibility of both sides, the supplier and the client. It is by virtue of this specific feature that state orders must have priority, preferential economic conditions. Otherwise enterprises will not be interested in winning the largest possible volume of state orders, and the idea of placing them on a competitive basis will be left hanging in the air.

At the same time, state orders harness state organs within a system which forces them to shoulder economic responsibility for any decisions they make. Life has proved that socialism cannot manage without **economic pressure** on all levels of economic management—from workers to central economic organs and departments. To ensure such pressure is yet another essential condition for the organic link between planning and commodity-money relations. On what principles is this pressure based? What are its limits and forms?

The theory and practice of economic management which prevailed for many years were dominated by the view that the socialist state must mediate in almost all processes of appropriation in socialized production. It was this understanding of public property that provided the theoretical basis of the ideology of allocation, the absolutization of administrative methods of economic management, the curtailment of enterprises' independence, and the blocking of the economic responsibility of higher-ranking organs of economic management to lower-ranking organs. But this interpretation of public property gives a simplistic impression of it, because it belongs not only to society as a whole and as personified by the state, but also to every working person and every collective. This is the dialectics of public property, which actually provide the socioeconomic basis of the unity of centralism and independence. Economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] enterprises need independence in order to enable each labor collective to perform its function as co-owner of the means of production, while centralism is needed by society to perform its function as corporate owner.

At the same time, the existence of co-owners means that each has a share in the product being produced. The state directly represents and personifies society as the corporate owner of the key means of production and the total product, so it cannot lay claims to this product in its entirety, still less the entire surplus product, and cannot arbitrarily distribute the income of economic organizations. The dialectics of public property thus predetermine the **proportional principle** of distribution: Every owner, from the worker to the state, owns a share in the product being created in proportion to his contribution to the total results of economic activity. A foundation is thus laid for strict economic responsibility not only along the horizontal (between subjects at the same economic level) but also along the vertical (between subjects at different economic levels).

The Law on the State Enterprise includes provisions on the strict linkage between labor collectives' incomes and their labor contribution. It enshrines the provision that the state is not responsible for enterprises' commitments, and that enterprises are not responsible for commitments by the state or other enterprises, organizations, and institutions. Economically accountable income is at the enterprise's disposal, utilized independently, and not subject to expropriation. All these fundamental provisions met with various reactions among the public. However, they reflect the proportional principle and ultimately the dialectics of public property and are aimed at including economic pressure in the system of economic management.

In this context, in our view, the decision to form state budget revenues on the basis of deductions in the form of a payment for the resources at an enterprise's disposal does not appear sufficiently consistent. It is inconsistent because, while protecting the independence of centralized revenues from the actual results of enterprises' activity, it leaves the financial system insufficiently interested in boosting the efficiency of economic management and does not overcome its orientation toward immediate fiscal goals.

In order to organically combine public and collective interests, it is important to implement the principle: The more you give to society, the more you'll receive from it. The proportional approach toward distribution pursues this goal. But budget deductions in the form of payment for resources do not, as such, ensure this.

The restructuring of the economic mechanism, the introduction of state orders and the proportional principle of distribution, and the expansion of enterprises' independence bring central departments into a new social order which imposes economic limits on their scope of command and makes them subject to economic control and pressure, and this cannot fail to prompt some resistance and occurs somewhat against their will and consciousness.

The transition to new principles in mutual relations between subjects of economic management sharply increases the importance of economic normatives, which specifically express the unity of planning and commodity-money relations. The quality of these normatives, the degree to which they accord with the proportional principle, and the speed of progress toward their uniformity for various enterprises will largely determine their incentive effect and the effectiveness of economic pressure on all subjects of economic management.

We are left with the questions of exerting such pressure at the level of labor collectives. The main ones concern the enhancement of the consumer's role and the assimilation of economic competition [sorevnovaniye] and competitive [konkursnyye] systems.

Neither planning nor commodity-money relations offer any guarantees against a producer's diktat or monopoly. Today the solution to the problem must be sought by ensuring unity between both groups of relations. It is clear that consumers' authority will not be established until they have a real opportunity of choice. Everything is important in this context—the enhancement of the role played by economic contracts, planning on the basis of these contracts, the transition to wholesale trade, and the reimbursement of losses caused to the consumer by the producer. It is not a matter merely of full reimbursement of such losses. This is insufficient, because the receipt of fines could compensate the payment of fines. In such a situation, everyone would find it advantageous to work poorly and the fines' incentive effect would be reduced to zero. It is therefore important to ensure that, regardless of the extent to which fines received and paid compensate for one another, sanctions have an effect on the labor collective's economically accountable income, in other words produce a loss that cannot be recouped without actually changing the state of affairs in production.

And now about socialist competition [sorevnovaniye]. The classics of Marxism-Leninism repeatedly drew analogies between it and cutthroat competition [konkurentsiya], between the former's role in socialist society and the latter's role in bourgeois society. But if we soberly assess the real prevailing forms of competition between labor collectives, it is easy to see that it largely boils down to a paper comparison of the results of their activity over a given period and that it has started losing its nature as a real economic relationship. The role of such competition is in no way comparable with the role of cutthroat competition in bourgeois society: While the operation of the bourgeois society's economic laws is impossible without cutthroat competition, the abandonment of the prevailing forms of competition would have no tangible effect on the operation of the economic laws of socialism.

It is, therefore, no accident that the Law on the State Enterprise talks not simply of competition but of economic competition. What is its essence? What does it have in common with cutthroat competition and how does it differ from it?

Competition in its existing form is based on the Olympic principle: The important thing is not winning but taking part. Even if the winners in competition do receive an economic benefit, it is largely symbolic, and losing has altogether no effect on the contender's economic position. Economic competition, on the other hand, must have a tangible effect on the economic position of all participants (both winners and losers). It is in this area that the commonality between economic competition and cutthroat competition can be seen. But the fundamental difference between them lies in the fact that losing in competition does not mean ruin. The socialist state will not, of course, abandon a loss-making enterprise to its fate. But its collective must be made clearly aware that if it has reduced things to such a state, the way out will be painful for it.

This applies not only to labor collectives but also to individual workers. For example, there is a pressing need to free enterprises from having to employ surplus manpower: Unless this is done, the problem of reducing the numbers of people employed in material production will not be resolved. This does not, however, mean that socialist society can countenance unemployment. While relieving enterprises of the function of employers of surplus manpower, it will be necessary to create a social mechanism with appropriate organs to involve in production those who want to work. It is, however, clear that slipshod workers will not have an easy life in these circumstances: They will inevitably be the losers in terms of the nature of their labor and their wages.

On the whole, however, it is possible to draw the conclusion: Socialism does not differ from capitalism because in one there supposedly is not and in the other there is economic pressure on participants in social production. The real difference lies in the objectives, limits, and forms of this pressure.

While consistently implementing a line of stepping up the utilization of commodity-money relations, it is important to have clear impression of what it can and cannot produce. An overestimation of these relations is no better than an underestimation. Experiments regarding this have been repeatedly conducted in the course of their centuries-long history. For example, economists engaged in socialist economic management would do well, in particular, to more frequently examine studies of the economy of contemporary capitalism, which show conclusively that it has thoroughly mastered nonmarket methods of regulating economic processes. Without this, it would have found it impossible to succeed in mastering the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. Thus life confirms time and again the conclusion by the classics of Marxism-Leninism that, in the conditions of a developed economy, it is impossible to successfully solve the strategic tasks of scientific and technical progress and structural restructuring of the economy without economic management at the level of total social production. The questions of social guarantees are especially impossible to solve without it.

Agricultural

Ligachev Addresses CPSU Harvest Meeting

LD152314 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Dec 87

[from the "Vremya" newscast; announcer-read report]

[Text] The 1988 harvest and the reliable material and technical provision—this was discussed at the conference of the leaders of the USSR ministries and departments that took place in the CPSU Central Committee today.

The reports on the fulfillment of the plans for the deliveries of machinery, spare parts, and other means to the rural areas, were delivered at the conference by Comrade Kalinin, first deputy of the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building; Comrade Pugin, USSR minister of the automotive industry; Comrade Varnachev, USSR minister of construction, road, and municipal machine building; Comrade Makukhnin, first deputy of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification; Comrade Bykov, USSR minister of the medical and microbiological industry; and Comrade Olshanskiy, USSR minister of mineral fertilizer production.

Summing up the results of the conference, Comrade Ligachev noted the positive trends in the development of the country's agriculture in recent years. He emphasized the importance of their consolidation and of raising the volume of foodstuffs by all available means. The attention of the leaders of the ministries and departments, which supply rural areas with material and technical means, was turned to the necessity of a responsible and priority approach to providing agriculture with material and technical means.

A tense situation is also developing over providing the kolkhozes and sovkhozes with spare parts in the next year. Many enterprises of machine-building ministries have not yet completed contracts for their supply. The State Planning Committee, the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, the State Committee on Prices, the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, and other departments and machine-building ministries have been instructed to work out proposals on stimulating the output and supplies of spare parts in short supply by including in them contractual prices and other economic levers.

Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev dwelled on the issues concerning the organization of professional and economic training of machine operators, teaching them intensive technologies, and their mastering economic management methods.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee turned the attention of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification to the necessity of resolute improvement in the supply of power to the agro-industrial complex. The issues concerning the preparation for the organized implementation of spring sowing and the harvesting of next year's crop must be at the center of attention of the people's control bodies and mass media and propaganda, stressed Comrade Ligachev.

Scientific

Marchuk Comments on Academy Elections

PM041441 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Account of interview with Academician G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Reinforcements at the Academy"; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Elections to the country's Academy of Sciences ended 23 December. At the request of an IZVESTIYA correspondent, Guriy Ivanovich Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, comments on their outcome.

During the formulation of the election concept this year, the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences proceeded from the main tasks of restructuring. This is above all the growing role of scientific and technical progress and of the human factor in the life of our society.

Since machine building is a priority area in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the cadre reinforcements of this sphere of science as a result of the elections are the biggest. Seven new academicians and 26 corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences were elected in scientific specialities in the area of machine building and mechanics.

As is well known, the metallurgical and chemical complexes are closely linked with the development of machine building in the national economy. These spheres also received impressive support at the elections. Seventeen academicians and 19 corresponding members of the Academy of Sciences were elected in the corresponding scientific specialities.

A special place at the elections was assigned to the social sciences, without whose development the comprehensive improvement of our society is not possible. They include economics, philosophy, history, law, literature, and languages. Sixteen academicians and 33 corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences were elected in these specialities, which is more than during the past two elections together.

As a result of the elections, the cadres of the regional departments of the Academy—the Siberian, Urals, and Far East Departments—were considerably reinforced with 19 academicians and 44 corresponding members elected to fill vacancies. This represents one-fourth of all the vacancies at the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Incidentally, a word about vacancies. As is known, prior to these elections, 250 academicians and 504 corresponding members were working at the USSR Academy of Sciences. Since the previous elections in 1984, some posts of full and corresponding members were vacated, owing to the death of academy members. These, along with additional vacancies which became available in the scientific specialities of academy members who reached the age of 75 or more, totaled 81 academician posts and 166 corresponding member posts. This then was the total number of posts to be filled in the 1987 elections.

The restructuring which is under way in the country has a serious impact also on the activity of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Our elections were imbued with the spirit of democracy, openness, and a desire to elect as

members of the Academy the most talented scientists capable of taking up and retaining leading positions in science and its application in the national economy. Therefore, an atmosphere of enhanced exactingness toward every candidate for full or corresponding membership of the USSR Academy of Sciences reigned at the general meeting. This was reflected both in the critical scientific discussions and in the assessment of candidates' moral and social qualities. I believe this is evidence of a truly crucial breakthrough in the restructuring of the USSR Academy of Sciences election policy. At the same time, at the general meeting, a certain amount of criticism was leveled at the press, which influenced the course of the elections in the process of the elections themselves at their final stage. This at times complicated the resolution of voting issues. It seems to us that it would be more correct to conduct a public debate in connection with elections to the USSR Academy of Science at an earlier stage of the election campaign. Then it would be truly useful.

The elections also raised a number of questions which will have to be solved for the sake of the further democratization of the election system within the USSR Academy of Sciences. This applies above all to a more correct definition of the specialities during the allocation of vacancies. Clearly, all members of the departments must be involved in solving this question rather than just the department leadership. During the elections, certain miscalculations in the regional planning of the development of science also came to light. A substantial number of the elected members of the Academy are still working at establishments in Moscow or Moscow Oblast. At the next elections, serious attention will have to be paid to union republics and other USSR Academy of Sciences centers.

Better information about the scientific work of proposed candidates is needed. It was noted that this information is not considered entirely satisfactory by Academy members at the crucial stage of restructuring.

A list of the newly elected academicians and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences will be published in IZVESTIYA [see the 28 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 61-63].

More Comments on Elections

LD041359 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Restructuring of the internal structure of institutes is beginning in the USSR Academy of Sciences. Our correspondent Vladimir Rabyko reports:

[Rabyko] This restructuring will affect more than 500 institutes and will be based on the broad democratization of activities of all links in the scientific establishments. It will begin with elections for the institutes' directors. Either the collective or the Academy department for the branch nominates one or several of the most authoritative scientists for the post of director. Each of them presents his program to the collective. In other words, he determines what has to be done and how it has to be done to achieve definite scientific aims. He says what the structure of the institute ought to be in his view, what kind of development the social sphere will receive, and so on. Then a secret ballot takes place. The results of this are conveyed to the Academy department. Here the candidates that have secured the greatest number of votes are examined and another election takes place. Finally the winner, if one can put it like that, becomes the director. He then sets elections for the institute's academic council. The council is elected by the whole scientific staff alone and becomes the main arbiter, not subordinate to the director. Then elections of the laboratory heads take place. They proceed in the same way as those for the director, the only difference being that the results are examined not by the Academy department but by the academic council. The candidates are also finally put to a vote by the academic council, and those who obtain the greatest number of votes become the laboratory heads. What is the benefit of this kind of elective system? Here is Academician Guriy Ivanovich Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences:

[Begin Marchuk recording] This kind of system will make it possible to filter out people who have stagnated in one spot, people who are ineffective. In the past, whether we liked it or not, the academic council was to a considerable extent picked by the director according to his interests, according to his views, and so on. Now we have arranged things so the academic council is becoming an independent expert and the principal judge of the scientific and technical policy being implemented by the institute, and which is being implemented by the director, so to speak, with the approbation of the academic council. Now the institute itself, the collective itself, will decide, at the level of the independent academic council, whether or not the structures are correct.

But bear this in mind: This means that the whole system is renewed every 5 years. It used to work like this: A new director is brought in, but everything remains the same. Now for the first time we have embarked on a radical step which has not existed in the history of our country's structural development. The whole system is being changed, from the director, everything, right to the end. One director leaves, another director arrives, once again the whole system is corrected. Well, naturally, we are very concerned to ensure that our scientific schools flourish. Naturally, as a consequence, we do not think that there will be any severe divergences. But this is, nevertheless, a trend that is due. [end recording]

Bulgarians, French To Work Aboard 'Mir'

LD041410 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] In the new year there will be more international expeditions on the orbital complex "Mir," this has been stated in an interview for Radio Moscow by the Deputy

Flight Director Viktor Blagov. A Soviet-Bulgarian crew will work on the complex next summer, to be followed by a Soviet-French crew. The spacemen will be welcomed at the complex by the Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, who arrived at the "Mir" at the end of last year.

Viktor Blagov said that the research program of Soviet and foreign cosmonauts includes experiments connected with space walks. When working outside the spacecraft they will use special jet bicycles.

Great October Scientific Conference Held

LD100047 Moscow TASS in English 2151 GMT 9 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 9 TASS—The international scientific conference "The Great October Revolution and Our Times", now under way in Moscow, shows fruitful pluralism of opinions on global problems of international relations, questions of the new political thinking and on ways of the development of socialism, Academician Oleg Bogomolov told today a press conference at the USSR Foreign Ministry.

He said that the conference which would last to December 10, was attended by 120 scientists and public figures from 65 countries. Incidentally, they are representatives of both the Marxist teaching and of social democratic, socialist, revolutionary-democratic parties and organizations.

"There are quite a number of questions on which the viewpoints of participants do not concur. But we believe such a dialogue and such examination of different views are very fruitful, since problems of world development are under discussion," Academician Bogomolov [words indistinct] pluralism and clashing opinions strengthens general concord, noted at the press conference Ivan Antonovich, prorector of the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee. "We shall argue [word indistinct] on the basis of moral confidence, mutual respect for points of view. New truths are born of these disputes. Discussions at the conference show that there are broad opportunities for cooperation of progressive forces in the world. However, differences remain, and they should be overcome for the sake of tackling the most important problems, above all, the survival of mankind," pointed out Professor Antonovich.

Correction to Academy of Sciences Electees

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Academy of Sciences Electees Listed," published in the 28 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on pages 61-63:

page 62, column one, paragraph five, line three: ...Dobretsov; V.A. Zharikov; V.I.... (changing "B.A." to "V.A.")

same paragraph, line four: ...V.S. Surkov; V.Ye. Khain... (changing "B.Ye" to "V.Ye")

same page, column two, paragraph two, line three: ...V.A. Ilin; V.P. Korobeynikov; V.K.... (changing "V.L." to "V.P.")